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ANNOUNCEMENT

At the annual meeting of the Editorial Board of THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, held at Philadelphia on December 29, 1937, Dr. Dana G. Munro, of Princeton University, was elected to the vacancy caused by the withdrawal of Dr. Herbert Ingram Priestley, whose term of service had expired. Dr. Munro will serve, as do all the Editors, for six years. The Editorial Board welcomes him to its midst; and thanks Dr. Priestley for his aid during his term of service.

THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

An event of exceptional interest to students of Hispanic American history was the meeting of the Second International Congress of American History at Buenos Aires (with one day at La Plata) from July 5 to 13, 1937. The delegates in attendance from the United States were Clarence H. Haring, representing Harvard University and the Massachusetts Historical Society; Percy Alvin Martin, representing Stanford University and the American Historical Association; the present writer, also representing the American Historical Association; and Sra. María de Maeztu, representing Columbia University. Professors Haring and Martin were also *invitados de honor* of the congress; Professor William Spence Robertson had been invited to attend in the same capacity, but was unable to accept the invitation.

The congress was held under the auspices of the Argentine government and formed part of the celebration commemorating the four-hundredth anniversary of the first founding of Buenos Aires. It was organized by an executive committee (*comisión organizadora*) composed of Argentine historians, of which the energetic and distinguished Dr. Ricardo Levene was president. He was ably assisted by two vice presidents, Drs. Emilio Ravignani and Rómulo Zabala, and by that most amiable of secretaries, the cosmopolitan Dr. Mario Belgrano.

Although the invitations were issued a comparatively short time in advance of the meeting, the response was gratifyingly widespread. Nineteen American nations were represented at the congress: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Salvador, the United States, Uruguay, and Venezuela. The only delegate from a non-American country was Dr. Wilhelm

Keiper, cultural counselor of the German embassy in Buenos Aires, who represented the Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut of Berlin. The number of monographic articles contributed by historians of all parts of America, in response to a general invitation, greatly exceeded the expectations of the organizers of the congress, more than a score of such papers being submitted by historians of the United States alone.

Most important of all, the list of delegates in attendance included many of the names best and most favorably known to students of Hispanic American history. Conspicuous among the representatives of the older generation were Domingo Amunátegui Solar, of Chile, and Max Fleiuss, of Brazil; of the younger generation, Ricardo Donoso, of Chile, and Pedro Calmon, of Brazil; and of the middle generation, which was naturally the most numerous, Manuel Toussaint, of Mexico, José Santiago Rodríguez, of Venezuela, José Gabriel Navarro, of Ecuador, Felipe Barreda Laos, Horacio Urteaga, and José Uriel García, of Peru, Felipe Ferreiro, Mario Falcao Espalter, Juan S. Sallaverry, and José Aguiar, of Uruguay, Clarence H. Haring and Percy Alvin Martin, of the United States, and the Argentine historians named above in the second paragraph. While this list would not be complete without the addition of many other names, it fairly represents the distinguished personnel of the congress.

The congress was formally inaugurated on the afternoon of July 5, and formally closed on the afternoon of July 13; but its activities really began before and continued after those dates. On July 2, several of the delegates participated in a radio broadcast over the new radio system of the federal government; on the morning of July 3, the congress held a preliminary session; immediately thereafter the delegates were formally presented to the President of the Republic in an audience at the government house (the "Casa Rosada"); and on July 14, the day following the formal closure, they were entertained at a reception and a complimentary dinner offered, respectively, by the Jockey Club of Buenos Aires and the Executive Committee. Those faithful delegates who at-

tended all of the formal sessions and all of the luncheons, receptions, and other entertainments offered them by the government and people of Argentina during this fortnight can have had little time for anything else but sleep.

A detailed account of the proceedings of the congress would require this report to be extended far beyond the limits that seem desirable and it would moreover be superfluous, since the executive committee has decided to publish not only such a detailed report but also the complete text of the addresses and papers read before the congress and of many of the monographic articles submitted to it. The present writer has therefore deemed it advisable to confine this report to an analysis of the program, a statement of the principal resolutions adopted by the congress, and a constructive criticism of both the program and the resolutions—a criticism that may perhaps be useful in view of the fact that provision has already been made for the meeting of the Third International Congress of American History at Santiago, Chile, in 1941.

ANALYSIS OF THE PROGRAM

The following analysis takes into account only the forty-four principal addresses and papers announced in the official program and delivered at the twelve formal sessions of July 5-13. It excludes: (1) all "volunteer" speeches made at these formal sessions; (2) all *informes* (that is, abstracts of the monographic articles mentioned in the third paragraph of this report) delivered by *relatores* (reporters) at the formal sessions; and (3) all speeches of whatever kind made at the luncheons, receptions, and other social gatherings. The reasons for excluding the first and third groups are so obvious that they do not need to be stated. The second group was excluded partly because, as will be explained below, the device of *informes* did not function properly, and partly because the present writer does not have sufficient information about all these *informes* to warrant an analysis of them.¹

¹In anticipation of this report, the present writer asked the secretary of the congress for an authoritative statement containing the pertinent data. The sec-

1. *Analysis by regions.* Several of the forty-four principal addresses and papers can not be classified according to regions within America because they dealt either with more than one region of America or the whole of it or else with problems that have no specific geographical reference. All of the papers that can be thus classified dealt primarily with Hispanic America, and of these all but one dealt with Spanish America. Only one paper related primarily to the history of the United States or Canada. Two related to the United States, but their subject was the study and writing of Hispanic American history in the United States. "Congress of American History" was therefore a misnomer for this gathering; it might better have been called a congress of Latin (or Hispanic) American history or even of Spanish American history.

2. *Analysis by subject matter.* Of the forty-four addresses and papers, thirteen dealt with such general historical problems as methodology, bibliography, and historiography, and five with the teaching of history, while two were occasional pieces of greeting and farewell. The remaining twenty-four dealt with specific historical problems and were distributed as follows: history of art, six; history of literature, literary societies, and libraries, six; political history, five; diplomatic history, three; and archaeology, religious history, Indian culture and civilization, and economic history, one each.

retary promised to give him such a statement but, doubtless because of the press of other business, failed to do so. The information contained in this report was drawn from the following sources: (1) the official program distributed to delegates (which was not, however, rigidly adhered to and did not cover all the points analysed in this report); (2) personal observation by the present writer; (3) information obtained by him from other delegates; and (4) daily reports published in the leading newspapers of Buenos Aires, principally *La Prensa* and to a less extent *La Nación*. Professors C. H. Haring and P. A. Martin (who, as stated above, attended the Buenos Aires congress) kindly consented to read and criticize the first draft of this report. After they had done so, the draft was then revised and given its present form in the light of their comments and suggestions. This grateful acknowledgment of their assistance is not, however, intended to transfer to them any responsibility for any statements, whether of fact or opinion, contained in this report.

3. *Analysis by periods.* Four papers dealt wholly or largely with the pre-Columbian period (including one paper on the indigenous art of Quito and one on the Guaraní Indians), one with the later colonial period, seven with the wars of independence, and twelve with the national period. The remaining eighteen could not be assigned to any of the periods just named. Finally, it is a striking fact that not a single one of these forty-four principal papers and addresses related exclusively or even largely to the period of discovery, conquest, and colonization.

4. *Analysis by nationality of speakers.* Classifying the forty-four addresses and papers by the nationality of the speakers, we have the following table: Argentina, 24; Brazil, Chile, and Peru, three each; Ecuador, Mexico, the United States, and Uruguay, two each; and Bolivia, Paraguay, and Venezuela, one each. There is some duplication of persons in this list: for instance, the president of the congress (an Argentine) was naturally one of the principal speakers at the opening and closing sessions, and Ecuador was represented on two occasions by the same speaker. Nevertheless, the table accurately represents the national distribution and concentration of the principal places on the program of the congress and shows that more than half of these were filled by Argentines.

5. *Analysis by type of program.* The type of program was virtually the same at all of the formal sessions, for, except at the last of these, most if not all of the time was devoted to the reading of prepared addresses and papers. At several sessions, provision was made for the reading of the *informes* described above; but this feature of the program was on the whole disappointing to the delegates, as it must have been also to the executive committee and to the *relatores* themselves. The number of articles to be abstracted was so large and the time allotted for the presentation of the *informes* was so brief that some of them had to be truncated or unduly compressed or read so hurriedly that they lost most of their significance.

A third feature often found in the programs of historical meetings was conspicuously absent from this one. That was the opportunity for discussion. Except at the last session, which will be discussed below, the program of this congress not only made no provision whatever for discussion, but also made discussion a virtual impossibility by scheduling so many set pieces that on some occasions even these could not be delivered at the session indicated but had to be postponed to another session or omitted entirely.

Finally, it should be noted that all of the sessions of this congress were general sessions. Some of them were distinguished from the rest by being called plenary sessions; but in practice this made no difference. All of the sessions were designed for all of the delegates; and although the latter represented twenty different countries and an even larger number of special fields of historical interest, no effort was made to provide for section meetings or round-table discussions by groups of specialists in the several fields.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE CONGRESS

As already stated, the closing session of the congress on the afternoon of July 13 was an exception to the rule of "no discussion", doubtless for the reason that it was devoted mainly to the consideration of a series of resolutions. The most important of those adopted was one which provided that hereafter an international congress of American history shall be held every three to five years, that the place of meeting shall be alternately on the Atlantic and Pacific coast, and that the next congress shall be held at Santiago, Chile, in 1941. This choice met with general approval, especially since the first congress (Rio de Janeiro, 1922) as well as the second had met on the Atlantic coast and in 1941 Santiago will celebrate the four-hundredth anniversary of its founding.

Other resolutions adopted at the closing session gave the sanction of the congress to the publication of the writings of Sarmiento relating to public libraries, the publication of the correspondence of Bartolomé Mitre, the translation into Span-

ish of Dr. William Spence Robertson's *Life of Miranda*, the prohibition of the sale of objects of historical value, the preparation of an American biographical dictionary, the erection of monuments, and the establishment of archives, libraries, and museums.

Historical students in the United States may find instruction as well as amusement in the discussion of another resolution offered at this final session. One of the delegates from a Spanish American country, apparently believing that the European background of American history is not sufficiently understood in the western hemisphere, offered a resolution urging the wider diffusion in America of the study of the history of Spain. After some discussion and amendment of the resolution, a delegate from Brazil remarked that his country was colonized by Portugal and the United States by England; so the resolution was again amended, and in its final form it recommended the diffusion in American countries of the study of the history of their respective mother-countries. The implications of this resolution and the discussion to which it gave rise might be made the text of some interesting reflections if space permitted and the occasion were appropriate.

CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM OF THE CONGRESS

Our Argentine hosts entertained us so hospitably and threw themselves into their work so zealously, and, on the whole, so effectively that it might seem ungracious to criticise their performance. Since, however, it has been decided that similar assemblies shall hereafter be held at comparatively brief intervals and the time and place of the next assembly have already been fixed, the Buenos Aires Congress should be discussed with the greatest frankness so that future congresses may profit by its experience. The following comments are offered by the present writer entirely on his own responsibility; but they represent the result not only of his own independent reflections but also of his conversations with other delegates during and after the congress. Moreover, it

would not be amiss to note that some of the following criticisms were voiced by one of the leading newspapers of Buenos Aires, *La Prensa*, as the congress was about to terminate its labors.² *La Prensa*, which enjoys a good reputation for the accuracy of its news reports and the judiciousness and independence of its editorial comments, was most sympathetic toward the congress and reported its proceedings fully and intelligently. These facts are mentioned because they show that criticism of the congress does not imply any antagonism either toward the organizers of it or toward the government under whose auspices it was held.

In the first place, Argentina occupied a place of prominence and influence in this congress that was hardly appropriate in an international assembly. While a certain degree of preponderance in favor of the host-country is probably inevitable on such occasions, the organizers of future congresses should keep it well below the point that it reached at Buenos Aires, where the program was designed very largely if not exclusively by the Argentine executive committee, Argentine historians occupied more of the principal places on that program than the delegates of all the other countries combined, and the *mesa directiva* (created at the opening of the congress) consisted of Argentines and the *invitados de honor*, that is, delegates invited and entertained by Argentina. In the future, it will probably be better to formulate the program after consultation with leading historians in as many of the American republics as possible; and it will certainly be better to reduce the proportion of local talent on the program (if only to avoid overcrowding it again), and to make the *mesa directiva* genuinely representative, if, as seems likely, it is to become something more than an honorific body, a *légion d'honneur*.

In the second place, the program of the Buenos Aires Congress was not well-balanced. Its most striking defect was that not a single one of the principal papers and addresses

² This article appeared in *La Prensa*, July 13, 1937, under the caption "Actualidad. El Congreso de Historia".

related wholly or even largely to the period of discovery, conquest, and colonization. This fault would be remarkable in any congress of American historians; it was particularly so in a congress held as part of the celebration commemorating the first founding of Buenos Aires. An obvious opportunity for lively and profitable discussion in that field of history was offered by the controversy regarding Bartolomé de las Casas initiated some three years ago at an historical congress in Seville by Dr. Rómulo Carbia, who, by the way, is an Argentine historian. Whether or not the views set forth in Dr. Carbia's Seville address are sound, they were at any rate deemed worthy of extended comment and rebuttal in a recent volume of the important *Historia de la Nación Argentina*, now in course of publication; and Dr. Carbia has just published his reply to that attack. Are not historical congresses designed precisely for discussions of this kind? Even if it was not possible or desirable for the executive committee to arrange this particular discussion, there are many other problems relating to the early colonial period that deserve the attention of an international historical congress and there were in attendance at Buenos Aires many historians competent to discuss them with profit to the other members of the congress.

It is also to be observed that the number of papers on the history of art (six) was greater than that on political and military history (five), diplomatic history (three), and economic and religious history (one each). While the present writer is heartily in favor of fostering the history of art, he believes that in a congress of this kind the proportion of papers in various fields should be determined mainly by the degree in which those fields are cultivated in the countries participating in the congress. From this point of view it can hardly be questioned that the number of papers on political and military, diplomatic, economic, and religious history was disproportionately small.

In the third place, the congress did not make good use of the monographic contributions that it invited and that were

submitted in great profusion by scholars all over America. Most of these articles will ultimately be made available to historians and the public at large through publication *in extenso* by the executive committee, and the present writer was responsibly informed before he left Buenos Aires at the end of July that the first volume was already in press and would appear in October, 1937. So far, however, as the congress itself was concerned, it would hardly be an exaggeration to say that these articles might as well not have been submitted. The plan of the executive committee was to have the substance of them presented to the congress in abstract form in oral reports by *relatores*. For the reasons already stated, this plan was not satisfactorily executed; and even if it had been, it would not have produced the best results. Abstracts of such papers, when read at such a gathering, are more likely to fatigue than to stimulate the delegates. Opinions as to how contributions of this kind should be exploited will, of course, differ; but most historians will probably agree that they should be invited well in advance of the congress and exploited during its sessions, for they may reveal talents that not even the most assiduous and eagle-eyed program committee could discern beforehand.

The fourth and last criticism of the congress, and probably the most serious of all, is that (as *La Prensa* pointed out) it was not really a congress at all in the proper sense of the word, that is, it was not a deliberative assembly. This was owing partly to the physical surroundings in which the congress was held, but mainly to the type of program adopted by the executive committee. The sessions were held in various halls, no regular seats were assigned to the delegates, the public was admitted freely to almost all of the sessions, and the Buenos Aires public seems to be as fond of edifying public lectures as were our forefathers in the days of the lyceum. As a result, the meeting places were generally crowded to capacity (at least during the first two hours or so of each session). The delegates and the general public were mingled in one mass, and it was sometimes difficult if not impossible

to know whether the opinions expressed (even those expressed in the form of votes, which were *viva voce*) represented the will of the delegates or that of the general public. The present writer was informed that this was not the fault of the executive committee, which had planned to hold most of the meetings in the enlarged assembly hall of the Museo Mitre, where each delegate was to have been assigned a numbered seat for the duration of the congress; but unfortunately this could not be done since the repairs to the hall had not been completed when the congress met.

Even if this difficulty had not existed, still the congress would not have been a deliberative assembly; for, as explained above, the program was so overcrowded with set pieces that discussion would have been impracticable even if it had been contemplated by the program committee. This defect was all the more noticeable because the addresses delivered by the organizers as well as by other members of the congress abounded in affirmations of the scientific character of history and of the historian's obligation to establish the truth not only by independent research but also by the untrammelled interchange of ideas with other historians. That these professions of faith were unquestionably sincere only makes one wonder all the more why the congress was not organized in conformity with them. A meeting of historians should be a meeting of minds, not a series of revelations and orations.

It is not meant to imply that the papers presented at this congress were of inferior quality, for most of them were at least interesting and some were highly informative or stimulating, or both; but the better they were, the more one regretted the lack of opportunity for discussion. To take two instances at random, Dr. Emilio Ravignani of Argentina presented a paper containing a challenging but thoroughly judicious defense of historicism and Dr. Felipe Ferreiro of Uruguay presented a paper synthesizing the political ideas dominant in Spanish America in 1808-1810. Both of these addresses were excellent and either would have provided material for profitable discussion during an entire session; but both of them were delivered, along with several other

papers and *informes*, at a single session, and both of them necessarily passed without any comment whatever.

To take another instance of a different sort, two addresses of an historical character contained assertions regarding relations between Brazil and Argentina that were open to serious question; and yet it was impossible to question either statement on the floor of the congress—or at any rate, to have done so would have thrown the whole crowded program out of joint and would moreover have struck a most discordant note in the air of harmony and international good-will that was maintained throughout the congress. Indeed, the affirmations of inter-American harmony were so numerous that the casual visitor might easily have mistaken this historical congress for the public sessions of a conference of diplomatists. He certainly would not have heard anything that would have enabled him to understand the international furore created almost immediately after the adjournment of the congress by the announcement that the United States government was about to rent six antiquated destroyers to Brazil.

In this connection, one proposal discussed at the congress and supported by high authority but not formally adopted, merits serious consideration because of its possible consequences. This proposal looks to the revision of school texts by governmental authority for the purpose of removing from them all statements likely to create ill-feeling among the nations of America. Argentina and Brazil have already concluded (1933) a treaty to this effect, and the proposal may be revived and pressed with more vigor at the next international historical congress in Santiago. That it should be strongly opposed is probably the opinion of most historians in the United States and of a good many historians in Hispanic America. The reasons for this opposition need not be stated here; but we may at least suggest one of the more important of them by quoting the first sentence of Dr. Ricardo Levene's prologue to the Spanish translation of Pedro Calmon's *Historia da Civilização Brasileira* (Buenos Aires, 1937): "Debemos superar la etapa romántica de la amistad entre los pueblos de América, entrando en la unión de las inteligencias".

CONCLUSION

Since the preceding paragraphs contain many adverse comments on the Buenos Aires Congress, the present writer wishes to remove any false impression by stating that in his own opinion and in that of most of the other delegates with whom he discussed the matter, this congress was a distinct success and reflected a great deal of credit upon the historians and government of Argentina. At considerable cost in both time and money they brought together the first ecumenical council of American historians that has met since 1922. They arranged a program which, despite many shortcomings, produced several addresses of unusual value, they gave the delegates every facility for familiarizing themselves with the many historical, artistic, and literary repositories of Buenos Aires and La Plata, and they entertained the congress with unstinted hospitality. Even if they had done nothing more than assemble the delegates, the congress would still have been distinctly worthwhile, for it provided an almost unique opportunity for the historians of America to get to know each other. It is scarcely possible that any of the delegates failed to bring away from the congress the memory of at least one stimulating session and of many valued acquaintances formed with his fellow delegates. It would have been most surprising if no mistakes had been made in the organization of an assembly that was only the second of its kind and that was separated from the first by the long interval of fifteen years; and the mistakes that were made at Buenos Aires will at least be useful in guiding the organizers of the next congress at Santiago and of subsequent congresses. The members of the Argentine executive committee deserve high praise for the courage and energy with which they revived the scarcely begun and almost forgotten series of inter-American historical congresses. By doing so, they have promoted both historical scholarship and also international understanding in America. It is to be hoped that neither of these benefits will need to be sacrificed to the other.

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ARGENTINA AND THE PAPACY, 1810-1827

I

The history of the Hispanic states to the south of us includes a chapter which is relatively unimportant in our own development. The absence of a tax supported ecclesiastical hierarchy, the freedom from government participation in the appointment of religious teachers and officials, and the secular nature of our public schooling have made unnecessary for us the diplomatic connections with the Papacy which the Hispanic American nations maintain. Our attention to this field of international affairs has been largely centered upon the unfortunate disputes between the Mexican Government and the Catholic Church. That instance of disrupted relations is rather the exception than the general condition of the feeling between the Vatican and the Hispanic American states. To be sure, civil government and ecclesiastical authority have clashed times without number, but in most of those countries Church and State have adopted some form of coöperation. It seems timely, therefore, to survey the diplomatic history of Argentina and the Papacy since the establishment of the independence of the Platean provinces.¹

From 1810 until 1814 when the Spanish American peoples, recognizing Ferdinand VII as their king, fought against the usurpers of his crown, they could not exercise his regal prerogatives without the consent which he was temperamentally unable to give. Then must those sovereign powers remain suspended which he could not exercise and which he would not delegate? If the Platean leaders responded in the negative they stood condemned as revolutionists and separatists,

¹ A brief account of the general relations between Church and State in Argentina may be found in J. Lloyd Mecham, *Church and State in Latin America* (Chapel Hill, 1934), pp. 275-304; the same subject for the period up to 1861 is treated in more detail in Almon R. Wright, *Church and State in the Provinces of La Plata to 1861* (unpublished doctoral thesis in the Library of the University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois, 1934).

a status they were unwilling to assume before 1816. On the other hand, if they answered in the affirmative, their compatriots would be deprived of some of the sacraments necessary for the happiness of this life and of the next since those administering these religious necessities could not be legally appointed.

To appreciate the dilemma of the Argentine leaders we may briefly summarize the ecclesiastical prerogatives of the Spanish crown during the colonial period. By a papal bull of July 25, 1508, Pope Julius II conferred the patronage of the clergy in the Indies upon King Ferdinand. More jealous, perhaps, of his authority and better informed about the potentialities of this prerogative, Philip II insisted that it was derived from the discoveries and conquests by his subjects and from the establishing and endowing of churches in the new lands as well as from a papal bull. The patronage included not merely the king's authority in appointing church officials but also his claim to a share in their transfer or removal. The Spanish monarchs rested upon this basis their practice of validating papal pronouncements, of legislating concerning church buildings and religious service, of restricting ecclesiastical courts, of limiting the use of excommunication, and of curbing the Inquisition.

The responsibility for financing churches gave the Spanish rulers their justification for a vast body of economic laws and regulations. Pope Alexander VI linked the endowing of churches as a condition to the crown's privilege of collecting the tithes. Ferdinand I and his successors drew up elaborate schedules of tithes and clerical fees. They required the successful candidate for a church office to return to the government as its commission a percentage of the first year's revenues. They made the tribunals, created to collect fees for the granting of indulgences, little more than civil administrators. On the other hand, they appropriated funds for church buildings, ornaments, and religious feasts. Their aid to the emigrating friar and the frontier priest is well known.²

² For fuller descriptions of the political and economic control of the Spanish

II

The exercise of these sovereign powers, as the Spanish kings thought of them, was a problem of great delicacy for the Argentine leaders in 1810. Their political theory was that the patronage was a power belonging to the mother country and not a personal prerogative of the king. It could be used, therefore, by a legitimate representative of the king, a position which those leaders felt they were holding.³ In practice, they were inclined to employ the patronage as little as possible. In 1810 and 1812, when the bishop of Córdoba fled and when the bishop of Buenos Aires mysteriously died, the provisional government sought a *modus vivendi* in instructing the ecclesiastical councils of those dioceses to name an auxiliary bishop or provisor to exercise the functions of the bishop's office.⁴ To this theory and practice the pope did not give his assent, nor did he go so far toward recognizing the provisional government as to protest against its acts. The attitude of the Papacy led some of the liberals in the constituent congress of 1813 to find the philosophic basis for an ecclesiastical policy in the history of the Arian Goths of the seventh century, whose independence from the bishop of Rome was a most conspicuous feature of their Christianity. In pursuance of this thought, the congress decreed that the nominations of church officials were to be made independently of any outside authority. Another step in the same direction was their specific repudiation of the ecclesiastical oversight of the apostolic nuncio in Spain.⁵ Yet it must be emphasized that

crown over the Church, see the pertinent chapters by J. Lloyd Mecham and Almon R. Wright in A. Curtis Wilgus (ed.), *Colonial Hispanic America*, IV of "Studies in Hispanic American Affairs" (Washington, D. C., 1936); Lillian Estelle Fisher, *Viceregal Administration in the Spanish American Colonies* (Berkeley, 1926), pp. 169 ff.

³ *Gaceta de Buenos Aires, 1810-1821* (Buenos Aires, 1910-1914), I, 451-455, 463 ff.

⁴ *Registro Oficial de la República Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1879-1880; hereinafter cited as *E. O.*), I, 62, 77, 166; José Ingenieros, *La Evolución de las Ideas Argentinas: la Revolución* (Buenos Aires, 1918), pp. 273, 437.

⁵ *El Redactor de la Asamblea de 1813* (Buenos Aires, 1913), No. 10, Sess., June 4, and No. 11, Sess., June 16.

the pope's fatherhood of the Church was not denied, nor was there a formal separation of the Argentine Church from Rome.

With the declaration of independence from Spain, made by the Platean Congress in 1816, the ecclesiastical problem was greatly altered. Diplomatic conversations with foreign nations and with the Papacy became desirable. To obtain some degree of coöperation or at least sympathy from Pope Pius VII might promote a benevolent attitude from the European powers, and, on the other hand, to negotiate for a Bourbon king might open the doors of the Vatican. Although the pope had blessed the cause of Ferdinand VII, an agreement between the Platean leaders and the papal diplomats was not an impossibility in 1818. The ministry of the Spanish king had appealed to Rome for permission to relieve the economic distress of the government by a tax on church properties. For weeks the ministry awaited a reply from the Vatican, the astuteness of whose diplomacy consisted to a large degree in lengthy consideration. When the bulls did arrive, the government found no sanction for its scheme. The exasperation of the Spanish officials was such as to threaten the severance of diplomatic relations. It was with these reports at hand that Valentín Gómez sailed for Europe. But the sailing vessel was not swift enough to enable him to take advantage of the strained relations between Rome and Madrid. He found, upon his arrival in France, that the Spanish ministry had fallen and that harmony was restored. Moreover, negotiations with France had become hopeless since that nation had returned to the reactionary family of European powers. After nearly a year and a half of effort, Gómez returned to Buenos Aires with no part of his mission fulfilled.*

The decade of the 'twenties witnessed a state of almost continuous disunity and disorder in Argentina; yet it produced one of the best known figures in the early history of

* *Gaceta de B. A.*, V. 515, 519, 576; the reports in the *Gaceta* were derived from the *London Morning Chronicle*; P. P. Leturia, *La Acción diplomática de Bolívar ante Pío VII, 1820-1823* (Madrid, 1925), pp. 48, 51-53.

that nation. Bernardino Rivadavia, chief minister in the provincial government of Buenos Aires for several years, is well remembered for his ecclesiastical reforms. Most of these were purely domestic in their application, but the name given to them, "civil constitution of the clergy", suggests that they would be anathema to Pope Pius VII and to Pope Leo XII. The latter referring to the Spanish king, called upon the American clergy to dwell upon

the august and distinguished qualities which characterize our very beloved son, Ferdinand . . . whose sublime and solid virtues make him place the lustre of religion and the happiness of his subjects before the splendor of his greatness. . . .⁷

This characterization seemed so amazing to some writers that they have doubted its genuineness. Rather than charge Pope Leo with a sense of humor they have challenged the authenticity of the document, citing its absence from the *Bularium* and lack of any reference to it in the negotiations of 1826 between the Papacy and Mexico. Moreover, American publications reprinted it from *La Gaceta de Madrid*, and, of course, Ferdinand stood to gain by its distribution. On the other hand, contemporaries of the king who appear to have known him less well than their successors, seem to have accepted it. So long as Catholic countries withheld recognition from Argentina there was no reason for the pope to alter his attitude. There was even less reason for him to show benevolence toward the strife-ridden Platean confederacy.⁸

Although Popes Pius and Leo did not recognize the statehood of Argentina, they encouraged direct relations with the clergy of that nation in the decade of the 'twenties. The Holy See conferred dignities and powers upon Argentine

⁷ Antonio de la Peña y Reyes (ed.), "León XII y los países hispano-americanos", No. 9 of the *Archivo histórico diplomático mejicano* (Mexico, 1924), p. 7.

⁸ Ibid., pp. 60 and p. v; Miguel Luís Amunátegui, *La Enrolación del Papa León XII contra la Independencia de la América Española* (Santiago de Chile, 1874), pp. 3, 22.

ecclesiastics, and some of these papal acts received the sanction of several provincial legislatures.⁹

Meantime direct negotiations with Pope Pius were begun for Chile by Ignacio Cienfuegos. Armed with official credentials he appealed to the pope for the establishment of an ecclesiastical hierarchy in his nation. Unsuccessful in attaining all the objectives desired he laid the basis, nevertheless, for further negotiation.¹⁰ In the same year, 1821, an Argentine friar, Pedro Luis Pacheco, appeared at the Vatican seeking spiritual comforts and conveniences for his home land. The fact that Argentine ecclesiastics were being recognized directly by the Papacy and that Pacheco was well known as a creole patriot prompted a belief that he, like Cienfuegos, bore an official character. This assumption was unfounded in fact. It appears that Pacheco described the unsettled and demoralizing character of conditions in an effort to impress upon Pope Pius the religious needs of his country. Perhaps, inadvertently, he showed his religious father why Argentina could not yet be regarded as a united nation. Pacheco failed in his desire to induce the pope to appoint an archbishop and several bishops.¹¹

Instead of considering Argentina as ready to receive his representative, Pope Pius sent an apostolic vicar, Juan Muzi, to Chile. The occasion for this benevolent attitude toward a former colony was the periodic return of tense relations with Spain which at this time, 1823, reached the point of complete suspension. In January, 1824, Muzi made a stop-over visit at Buenos Aires on his way to the west coast. Rivadavia received the papal representative deferentially, but since no credentials were presented, he did not acknowledge his offi-

⁹ Vicente López, *Historia de la República Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1911), IX. 109; *E. O.*, I, 590-591.

¹⁰ Frances H. Hendricks, *Church and State in Chile before 1891* (unpublished doctoral thesis in the Library of the University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois, 1931), pp. 104 ff.

¹¹ Leturia, *op. cit.*, pp. 45, 167-168, 169 n., 171, 173; Lucas Ayarragaray, *La Iglesia en América y la Dominación Española: Estudio de la Época colonial* (Buenos Aires, 1920), pp. 214-216.

cial character. Displaying the insignia of his high office, Muzi appeared on the streets, visited the churches, administered the sacraments, and conferred the apostolic blessing. Among the people of the city, long deprived of some of the consolations of their faith, the apostolic vicar inspired a fanatical religious joy and at the same time wore out his welcome with the Rivadavian government. On his return from Chile, Muzi remained in Montevideo for nearly two months where he continued to be a source of embarrassment to the government of Buenos Aires. On February 6, 1825, ignoring the Argentine claim to the patronage, he named Mariano Medrano as governor of the diocese of Buenos Aires thereby sowing the seed for a protracted quarrel reaped by the dictator Rosas. Muzi was accompanied by his secretary, Juan Mastai Ferreti, later elevated to the papal chair as Pius IX.¹² It is an interesting fact that this later pope who played such a conspicuous rôle in the movement of Italian unification visited in a land where some twenty years later, Garibaldi suffused his flaming spirit into the forces which opposed the tyrant Rosas.

The ascendancy of this colorful dictator of the early days of Argentina began in 1829. By a gradual process he made himself supreme, but early in this rise to power he obtained the control of foreign relations for all of the provinces. Concerning the general problems between Church and State and the particular questions between the Papacy and Argentina he had little understanding. Hence the credit for the establishment of formal relations with the Holy See belonged to his ministers. Their immediate task in 1829 was to give the appearance of ignoring the appointment of Mariano Medrano as governor of the diocese by the papal representative while giving the Papacy an opportunity to adapt its policy to the desires of the government. On October 8, the minister, Viamonte, addressed Pope Leo concerning the needs of the Church and suggested two men for the position of bishop *in partibus infidelium*. The second name was that of Medrano

¹² J. Lloyd Mechem, "The Papacy and Spanish American Independence," in *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, IX, 164 ff.

mentioned without any reference to his previous appointment by Muzi. The pope preferred Medrano and expressed his pleasure that

the election of the person whom we have considered worthy of such a pious and sacred ministry has been in conformity with the desires later expressed by your Excellency.¹³

This procedure was the method by which the two powers for decades to come agreed to disagree. It became necessary for neither one to concede the views of the other concerning ecclesiastical appointments. The nomination and the canonical institution could be made with meaningless expressions of exclusive powers and rights.

In the period of the régime of Rosas, several other disputes brought about the further use by the government of a conditional exequatur. Considerable friction developed over the elevation of Medrano as the first bishop of Buenos Aires. The appointment of Mariano Escalada as auxiliary bishop of the same diocese required three years and the nominations for the bishop's chair of San Juan de Cuyo were likewise delayed, but no real impasse was met.¹⁴ It is significant to note that the verbal strife which accompanied Escalada's nomination did not prevent him from ascending, thirty years later, to the position of the first archbishop of Argentina.

From the diocese of Cuyo arose another question concerning the necessity for the consent of the government in the promulgation of papal documents. The authority of a local ecclesiastic was challenged on the ground that his papal rescript by which he was released from holy orders was not sanctioned by the government. The bishop and the ecclesiastical chapter naturally denied that any law had been violated, but the governor of the province intervened by suspending all members of the clergy who held papal rescripts not expressly

¹³ As quoted in Héctor D. Esquivel, *Régimen eclesiástico Argentino* (Buenos Aires, 1928), p. 172; *E. O.*, II, 278.

¹⁴ *E. O.*, II, 329, 346, 404; Adolfo Saldías, *Papeles de Rosas* (La Plata, 1904-1907), I, 275.

approved by the civil authorities. The government of the confederation to which the question was referred, decreed on June 28, 1849, that such papal documents required the *exequatur*.¹⁵

III

When in 1852, the dictator was overthrown and in exile journeyed to England to join, perhaps, that illustrious group of one time rulers of France and Austria, Justo José de Urquiza became the man of the hour in Argentina. That nation has been afflicted less by new constitutions than its sister states, but in the light of its later history, the formulation of an organic law after the departure of Rosas marked the beginning of a new trend. The author of this constitution was not Urquiza, but, more than any other one man, it was the work of Juan Bautista Alberdi. Unlike the North American prototype the Argentine document contained many clauses pertaining to the Church. The extreme Catholic representatives in the constitutional assembly opposed toleration and desired that a papal agreement precede the inclusion of such a provision. Again their demand for a concordat was raised and overruled when the assembly conferred upon the president the power to present to the pope for canonical institution candidates for vacant bishoprics.¹⁶ With logic on their side the ecclesiastical members of the constituent congress urged that the qualification of membership in the Catholic Church be applied to members of the new legislative congress and the new supreme court since those bodies were to pass upon papal pronouncements and perform other ecclesiastical functions. But the majority determined to make that qualification apply only to the president and the vice president.¹⁷

¹⁵ R. O., II, 452-453, 464; see also Rosas's message to the congress, December 27, 1849, in Heraclio Mabragaña (ed.), *Los Mensajes, Historia del Desarrollo de la Nación Argentina redactada cronológicamente por sus Gobernantes* (Buenos Aires, 1910), II, 416-419.

¹⁶ *Congreso general constituyente de la Confederación Argentina, sesión 1852-1854* (Buenos Aires, 1871), pp. 154-155, 183.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 156, 182.

Fearful of losing its superior position which its population and prestige seemed rightfully to give it, Buenos Aires refused to subscribe to the new constitution and to join the new union of provinces. There seemed to be justification for that fear as applied to the ecclesiastical superiority of that city and province. The first of several representatives of Urquiza at the Vatican was Salvador Ximénez. He was instructed to induce the apostolic delegate at Rio de Janeiro to move his official residence to Paraná, the new political capital, and to obtain the pope's consent for this change. If Ximénez had been successful he would have undermined the position of Buenos Aires and improved the prestige not of the rival city alone but of the new federal government resident there as well. A second purpose of this diplomatic mission was to obtain papal bulls instituting Leonardo José Acevedo, as bishop *in partibus* of the littoral provinces of Santa Fé, Corrientes, and Entre Rios.¹⁸ If Pope Pius acceded to this request, he would have found it necessary to create a new diocese of these three provinces, and this step, in turn, would have required the division of the old diocese of Buenos Aires. If carried out, this would have been, indeed, a smashing blow at the ecclesiastical position of Buenos Aires.

In the eyes of the diplomats of the Holy See the situation called for watchful waiting. It was inexpedient to favor Urquiza's representatives at the expense of the prestige of Buenos Aires. It was less wise, perhaps, to offend Paraná by favoring the dissenting province. There was a very real question as to whether the new confederation could long exist without the province of Buenos Aires, and similarly it was not possible to foretell whether the latter could continue independently of its sister provinces. Cardinal Antonelli, the papal secretary of state, received Ximénez in a diplomatic and conciliatory manner. He assured the Argentine representative that the Papacy had no objection to his aims but that Pope Pius required evidence of stability and financial re-

¹⁸ Francisco Centeno, "La Diplomacia Argentina ante la Santa Sede", in *Revista de Derecho, Historia, y Letras*, XXXII, 150, 154-155.

sources before he could agree to any immediate changes.¹⁹ Hence Ximénez could report that the pope agreed to the proposals "in principle", and Buenos Aires could rejoice that the purposes of the Urquiza government were thwarted, at least for the time being.

The Argentine government entrusted the task in which Ximénez was engaged to Alberdi. He was instructed to present the candidates of the Paraná government for the bishop's offices in Salta, Córdoba, and San Juan, all of which were vacant.²⁰ To have acceded to this request would have implied that the Papacy recognized the new government at Paraná. Pius IX preferred not to commit himself to this extent, and hence Alberdi was no more successful than his predecessor.²¹ But the manifold diplomatic tasks of this Argentine statesman in other parts of Europe prevented him from devoting sufficient time to obtain satisfactory results. Of necessity, he delegated his duties at Rome to Benedicto Filippini. The latter made little progress, but at the end of his service in this capacity, early in 1859, he reported that Pope Pius had consented to issue the bulls by which the vacant sees would be filled.²²

The last and most successful of Urquiza's representatives at the Vatican was Juan del Campillo. He was commissioned to continue the effort for the establishment of the new diocese. His instructions, however, placed upon him an even heavier task, that of negotiating a concordat to include the long disputed questions which embraced the divergent views of the two powers on the patronage.²³ Campillo succeeded in attaining certain of the more simple objects, notably the pope's consent to abolish some of the superfluous feast days which threatened to retard the economic progress of the provinces.²⁴

¹⁹ Ximénez to Gutiérrez, Rome, October 26, 1854, *ibid.*, pp. 410-411; see also Ximénez to Antonelli, September 22, 1854, and Antonelli to Ximénez, October 12, 1854, *ibid.*, pp. 405-406, 408-409.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 469-471.

²¹ Juan Bautista Alberdi, *Escritos póstumos* (Buenos Aires, 1901), XVI, 494, 501, 505.

²² Centeno, *loc. cit.*, XXXIII, 56-58.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 208-209.

²⁴ Campillo to Antonelli, Rome, March 26, 1859, *ibid.*, pp. 212-214; Campillo to La Peña, Rome, June 3, 1859; *ibid.*, p. 214.

His greatest success was in persuading the Holy See that the time had arrived for the division of the diocese of Buenos Aires and the establishment of a new bishopric of which Paraná was to be the capital.²⁵ The negotiation for a concordat broke down, for the views of Pope Pius and the Argentine government were far apart on the problems of appointment, education, and financial guarantees.²⁶

It is difficult to explain, however, the pope's definite turn to the Paraná government in the creation of the new bishopric, and perhaps it is futile to speculate. One may suggest that at the time the bulls for this purpose were issued, June, 1859, Franco-Sardinian armies were driving out the reactionary Austrian despots of Italy, and that popular upheavals in the papal states were repudiating the pope's temporal authority. Under the pressure of these conditions, perhaps, Pius was the more willing to make concessions to a distant government which after seven years appeared to be stable. It should be suggested also that Pius may not have contemplated Paraná as the ecclesiastical capital of Argentina even though it continued to be the political center of the confederation. Four years after this action of the pope, the apostolic delegate in Argentina proposed the establishment of an archbishopric. The first archbishop was not the bishop of Paraná, but Mariano Escalada, the bishop of Buenos Aires.

The long contested differences between the confederation and its most populous province were removed, at least temporarily, when certain modifications of the constitution were agreed upon in 1860 and in 1862. To Pius IX, this settlement of the dispute and this unification of all the provinces was an indication that Argentina had reached that stage of political stability which was a requisite for a new ecclesiastical union. Late in 1863, Marino Marini, the apostolic delegate, noted the reasons for establishing an archbishopric coextensive with the boundaries of Argentina. He coupled the fact of political

²⁵ Francisco Javier Hernández (ed.) *Colección de Bulas, Breves, y otros Documentos relativos á la Iglesia de América y Filipinas* (Bruselas, 1879), II, 336-339.

²⁶ Centeno, *loc. cit.*, XXXIII, 397-398, 400-409.

stability with the legal theory that in ecclesiastical matters the nation was subject to the archbishop of La Plata. This reference to Argentina as being subject in any way to Bolivia was unfortunate. It offended members of President Mitre's government. The minister of justice and religion asserted that with

the former Spanish colonies constituted as independent nations, the ecclesiastical jurisdiction "ipso facto" is modified and becomes subject to the respective limits of the civil jurisdiction of each one.²⁷

Ten days after writing his unhappy reference to Argentina's ecclesiastical subordination, Marino Marini was challenged by the government both as to his official capacity and his legal powers. Mitre's minister, Eduardo Costa, declared that the apostolic delegate had violated the public ecclesiastical law.²⁸ In this declaration, Costa only partially recognized the exequatur given to Marini's credentials in 1858 by the Paraná government. The pope's envoy referred the precipitate action of the minister of justice and worship to the Vatican, and Pius instructed Marini to sever relations. In a letter of April 18, 1864, the apostolic delegate notified the government of the decision to retire. Four days later, Costa hastened to assure Marini that his communication was intended merely to record his government's claims and that the position of the pope's representative was not altered thereby. In reply Marini expressed his gratification and his intention to suspend his plans for departure.²⁹ Meantime, an explanation had been forwarded to Cardinal Antonelli, the papal secretary of state, which was received with appreciation if not with entire satisfaction.³⁰ By the end of 1864, having completed the negotia-

²⁷ Costa to Marini, Buenos Aires, December 3, 1863, in *Memoria del Ministro de Justicia, Culto é Instrucción pública* (Buenos Aires, 1869-1907; hereinafter cited as *Memoria culto*), 1864, p. 48.

²⁸ Decree of November 20, 1863, *ibid.*, pp. 49-52.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 52, 54-55, 56; see also Costa's report to the congress, Buenos Aires, June 9, 1864, *ibid.*, pp. vi-vii.

³⁰ Vicente G. Quesada, *Derecho de Patronato; Influencia política y social de la Iglesia católica en América* (Buenos Aires, 1910), p. 377.

tions concerning the objects of his mission, Marini was ready to take his leave of Argentina.

As a result of the efforts of the apostolic delegate and the Argentine ministers, Pope Pius issued the bulls establishing Argentina as an archbishopric in 1865. True to the principles laid down in the famous *Syllabus of Errors* of 1864, the pope reserved the rights to delimit new dioceses, to confer the bishops' positions upon his candidates, and to communicate freely with his ecclesiastical sons in America. The bull contained an enumeration of the dioceses and of the members of the cathedral chapter. The pope enjoined the government to provide a suitable residence for the archbishop, confirmed the rights to revenues already assigned, and expressed a wish for increased financial support.³¹ The procurator general and the supreme court agreed to the promulgation of this papal pronouncement with the usual reservations.³²

The archbishop's pallium was conferred upon Mariano Escalada who retired as bishop of Buenos Aires. In giving its approval to the appointment, the government required him to swear fidelity to the nation, recognition of its right to the patronage, and support of its constitution. He promised further not to accept a foreign title without the consent of the government, and not to take an oath which would compromise his loyalty to the nation.³³

IV

The famous *Syllabus of Errors* and the accompanying encyclical, *Quanta Cura*, which Pius IX proclaimed to the world in 1864 contained a number of clauses which affected Argentina. The assertion, to express it in the positive form, that the ecclesiastical authority may exercise its powers without the consent of civil governments was not agreeable to President Mitre or his ministers. The Papacy's denial of the

³¹ *Memoria culto*, 1867, pp. 35-42.

³² Francisco Pico to the Supreme Court, Buenos Aires, July 1, 1866; opinion of the court, July 3, 1866, *ibid.*, p. 47.

³³ *Registral nacional* (a continuation of the *Registro oficial*; hereinafter cited as *E. N.*), V, 297.

state's right of exequatur, of educating the youth, of supervising religious seminaries, and of annulling laws which protected religious orders was not acceptable to Argentine leaders. One error which Pius condemned struck the Platan state especially. This was the practice of guaranteeing religious freedom to induce foreigners to emigrate from their home lands.³⁴ These papal pronouncements received little official attention, however, from the government. Eduardo Costa, the minister of justice and worship in his annual report, dated May 30, 1865, pointed out that several of the principles of the *Encyclical* were at the same time condemned by the Papacy and consecrated by the Argentine constitution. The government's exequatur upon the *Encyclical* and the *Syllabus*, however, was not requested by the ecclesiastical authorities in Argentina.³⁵ Nearly twenty years later, as procurator general, Costa referred again to the fact that the government's exequatur had never been conferred upon these famous pronouncements of the pope.³⁶

The long rule of Pius IX is notable also for the assembling of the Vatican Council and the dictum of papal infallibility to which that body of distinguished prelates gave its assent. The Argentine government took the position that members of the clergy were free to go to Rome to attend the council if they abided by the provisions of the law. The bishop of Cuyo informed the minister of worship of his intention to depart and the delegation of his duties to a vicar. In reply, the government warned him of the necessity of obtaining a permit.³⁷ The bishop of Salta not only sought a permit but also an appropriation to pay for his expenses. The permit was granted; the appropriation, denied.³⁸ The startling nature of the doctrine of papal infallibility was probably less impressive to the Argentine clergy at Rome and to their communicants in the provinces than to European Catholics and

³⁴ For a summary of the errors see John B. Bury, *The Papacy in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1930), pp. 13-38; Esquivel, *op. cit.*, pp. 339 ff.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 1884, I, 138.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 1884, I, p. 138.

³⁷ Quesada, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

³⁸ Avellaneda to the Congress, May 10, 1869, *Memoria culto*, 1869, p. xxx.

Protestants. The head of their group, Archbishop Escalada, died in Rome. In the words of his successor this sad event frustrated almost all the hopes which were conceived for the journey of his Very Illustrious Holiness to the Sacred General Council of the Vatican.

He expressed pain that the liberty of action of the council was destroyed by the violent occupation of Rome in September, 1870.³⁹

It is a significant fact that Pope Pius turned his attention to the question of civil marriage in Argentina nearly fifteen years before the enactment of the Ferry laws in France. According to a letter of October 22, 1867, from the Argentine minister at Rio de Janeiro, the apostolic internuncio and envoy extraordinary had expressed the painful impression produced upon the Vatican by the incidents which occurred in the province of Santa Fé. General alarm and some violence had arisen over the refusal of a priest to administer the sacrament to an individual who admitted membership in a Masonic organization. The ecclesiastical authority employed the instrument of excommunication; the governor used the weapon of force.⁴⁰ Both the bishop and the governor, however, sought the arbitrage of the national government.⁴¹ Several months later, the Argentine minister at Paris reported to his government that he had received from Cardinal Antonelli an expression of the pope's displeasure with the establishing of civil marriage in Santa Fé.⁴² The attitude of the national government was revealed in its request that the bishop of Cuyo, while attending the Vatican Council, make every effort to obtain the consent of Pope Pius to the removal of the impediments to the marriage of immigrants of different

³⁹ Aneiros to Avellaneda, March 9, 1872, *ibid.*, 1872, pp. 511-512.

⁴⁰ J. E. Torrent to Rufino de Elizalde, Rio de Janeiro, October 22, 1867, in *Memoria presentado por el Ministro de Estado en el Departamento de Relaciones Exteriores al Congreso nacional* (Buenos Aires, 1860-1905; hereinafter cited as *Memoria de Relaciones Exteriores*), 1868, pp. 401-402.

⁴¹ Elizalde to Torrent, Buenos Aires, 1867, *ibid.*, p. 403.

⁴² M. Balcarce to Elizalde, Paris, February 18, 1868, *ibid.*, p. 405.

religious sects with Catholics. The position of the president and his ministry was stated thus :

Every interest, that of religion as well as of the state demands that foreigners who come to our country and who in their religion belong to dissident sects may easily celebrate marriages and form families without encountering obstacles which prevent the exercise of a right so legitimate.⁴³

Needless to say a compromise on this fundamental principle of the Church was impossible. Years later, after France had adopted a national law providing for civil matrimony and when anti-clericalism was in the ascendant there, Argentina enacted national laws with a similar object.⁴⁴

With the accession of Leo XIII to the papal throne, efforts were renewed to negotiate a concordat between the Papacy and Argentina. In 1878, the latter recognized Angel di Pietro as apostolic delegate and envoy extraordinary, but after two years Luis Matera succeeded to that post. President Roca addressed Pope Leo XIII on September 14, 1881, concerning the necessities of the Church and the desirability of a concordat. He expressed the desire that the Papacy approve of Buenos Aires as the permanent residence of the apostolic delegate and that the latter be empowered to negotiate a treaty.⁴⁵

The hope for a permanent understanding between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities was wrecked upon the question of education. The trend toward secular control of the schools, so evident in France in the decade of the 'eighties was likewise felt in Argentina. In the latter country, the desire to induce north European Protestants to immigrate entered the question of education as it did civil marriage. The hostility of the clergy was crystallized in a pastoral letter of the vicar of Córdoba of April 25, 1884. In objecting to secular schooling, he cited the opinions of Pius IX and Leo XIII who condemned the practice of sending children to Protestant schools

⁴³ As quoted by Quesada, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

⁴⁴ *E. N.* XII, 61, 482; XIII, 309.

⁴⁵ *Memoria culto*, 1882, pp. 209-210.

or to institutions where religious instruction was excluded.⁴⁶ In answer, the government suspended the vicar from his ecclesiastical office. The ecclesiastic considered this act void as originating from an authority not legally competent to deal with the question. From this basis, the vicar broadened his position. Bringing to his support the famous *Syllabus* of Pius IX he asserted that the civil authorities may not judge the instructions of pastors to their congregations, may not exercise any claim of exequatur, and may not depose ecclesiastical officers.⁴⁷

The cause upheld by the vicar and acting governor of the diocese of Córdoba was championed by the apostolic delegate, Matera. Both protested against the policy of permitting on certain days of the week Protestant instruction for Protestant students in the schools. On the other hand, the government becoming impatient, charged that a veritable campaign for intolerance was being sponsored by Catholic clubs, that Catholic newspapers were having a subversive influence, and that Catholic bishops and pastors were inflaming their congregations by intemperate sermons. Meantime, a delegation of women sought from Matera the removal of the ban which he had placed upon the normal school of Córdoba. The apostolic delegate demanded as a *sine qua non* a promise from the government that it would not propagate Protestantism, that it would permit Catholic instruction in the Córdoba institution, and that the bishop might exercise the right to visit the school to see that the promise was kept. The government naturally resenting the tone and the implications, requested an explanation.⁴⁸ In his turn, Matera imputed the authorship of an offensive newspaper article to President Roca's ministers and demanded an explanation. The next move in the diplomatic game was decisive and dramatic. President Roca terminated

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 1884, II, 402-405; Faustino J. Legón, *Doctrina y Ejercicio del Patronato nacional* (Buenos Aires, 1920), pp. 527 ff.

⁴⁷ *Memoria culto*, 1884, II, 436-444.

⁴⁸ *Memoria de Relaciones Exteriores*, 1885, pp. 330 ff.

the mission of the apostolic delegate, gave him his passport, and ordered him to leave the country in twenty-four hours!⁴⁹

In the usual course of diplomatic events it becomes necessary for two parties who have so irritated each other to take the next step, to declare war. But war between Argentina and the Holy See was not only unthinkable, it was impossible. Within a few days after his drastic action against Matera, President Roca through his ministers began negotiations to prevent a complete breach with Rome. They took the position that the apostolic delegate did not have instructions from the Vatican which authorized his extreme measure, and consequently he had exceeded his powers and no longer represented Pope Leo. On October 25, 1884, instructions were sent to Mariano Balcarce, Argentina's minister plenipotentiary to France, to undertake a mission to Rome. He was to give proof at the Vatican of the high respect held by the Argentine government for his Holiness and its desire to continue cordial relations. At the same time he was to persuade the pope to disavow the apostolic delegate.⁵⁰ Balcarce protested the time limit of fifteen days allowed him for his task by bluntly asserting that neither fifteen days nor fifteen months would be sufficient to accomplish such an objective. He suggested that he be permitted to negotiate with Monseñor de Rende, the apostolic nuncio at Paris, a course of action which he had already begun.⁵¹

Meantime, the conflict in Argentina spread to the other provinces. The bishop of Salta, Buenaventura Risso Patrón, published a pastoral allegedly inimical to the interests of the nation. He was charged with inflaming the people, arousing bitter feelings within families, and establishing incompatibilities between citizenship in the State and membership in the Church. The bishop was said to have threatened the use of the spiritual penalties upon those who obeyed these laws

⁴⁹ See the explanation of Francisco J. Ortiz to Cardinal Jacobini, Buenos Aires, October 22, 1884, *ibid.*, p. 339.

⁵⁰ Ortiz to Balcarce, Buenos Aires, October 25, 1884, *ibid.*, pp. 328-330.

⁵¹ Balcarce to Ortiz, Paris, February 1, 1885, *ibid.*, p. 335.

which were opposed to his religious views. With open rebellion hanging in the balance, the government again turned to drastic action. The bishop was suspended. Two prominent ecclesiastics, leaders of the clerical opposition in Santiago del Estero and in Jujuy, were summarily dismissed.⁵²

The Papacy upheld the cause of its sons in Argentina. Cardinal Jacobini, the papal secretary of state, explained that to consider relations as unaffected by the Matera episode would imply that the dispute in which the apostolic delegate was engaged was a personal quarrel. This view the Vatican could not accept. Pope Leo's spokesman reminded the minister of foreign affairs:

Your Excellency knows better than all others the serious changes recently introduced in the legislation of the country to the injury of the Catholic religion, professed by the great majority if not the totality of the Argentine people.

In particular he condemned the method of procedure against the vicar of Córdoba and the aged bishop of Salta. He protested against Protestant influence in the schools, the distribution of Bibles, and the sermons of heterodox ministers.⁵³

For several years, Argentina regarded relations with the Holy See as unbroken, but the Papacy seemed to regard them as severed. The result was that the requests of the Platean state were politely ignored at Rome. The congress authorized the president, in 1887, to proceed with negotiations for the creation of three new dioceses, two of which were to be co-terminous with the provinces of La Plata and Santa Fé while the third was to include Tucumán, Santiago del Estero, and Catamarca. The accomplishment of this plan was entrusted to Milciades Echagüe but the Papacy held aloof. Archbishop Aneiros and the minister of justice and worship were disputing in 1893 as to where the blame for the delay belonged.⁵⁴

⁵² Quesada, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-149.

⁵³ Jacobini to Ortiz, Rome, January 27, 1885, in *Memoria de Relaciones Exteriores*, 1885, pp. 343-345.

⁵⁴ Quesada, *op. cit.*, p. 384; Aneiros to Calixto S. de la Torre, Buenos Aires, February 6, 1893, in *Memoria culta*, 1893, I, 414; Legón, *op. cit.*, p. 543.

The bishop's office in the bishopric of Salta remained unfilled for several years, for the pope would not institute the government's nominee. The minister of justice and worship in 1889 bemoaned this refusal and pointed out that the Argentine Church could be ruled indefinitely by capitular vicars. Thus the constitutional provisions could be evaded.⁵⁵ When Celestino L. Pera resigned his candidature in 1892 the pope agreed to invest Pablo Padilla. His induction to office was accomplished six years after the death of his predecessor.⁵⁶

This termination of a question which had long been held in suspense was the work of Vicente Quesada, a distinguished diplomat who served his government in a number of different nations. In addition to the problem of filling the bishop's chair at Salta, the Argentine representative and Cardinal Rampolla, papal secretary of state, considered several other subjects. One concerned the resignation of Bishop Gelabert of Paraná who in 1888 resigned without first informing the minister of justice and worship. As jealous of its right to permit a man to retire from office as to accept it, the government considered the resignation invalid. Quesada maintained that the civil authority was the better judge as to when new dioceses should be established, to which the papal diplomat took exception. The Papacy desired that Argentina maintain a permanent legation at the Vatican to which Quesada replied that only a special deference for his Holiness made possible the special mission, and that with his country feeling the full effect of a severe financial and political crisis, the wishes of the pope could not be satisfied. Rampolla objected to the Argentine legislation on public schools. Quesada noted that the Church could provide religious instruction.⁵⁷ On these points no agreement was reached.

The Argentine diplomat was virtually repudiated in 1893

⁵⁵ Filemón Posse to the Congress, *ibid.*, 1889, I, xxiv-xxv.

⁵⁶ Pera to Juan B. Balestra, Buenos Aires, July 13, 1892, *ibid.*, 1893, I, 453-454; for the documents pertaining to Padilla's appointment, see *ibid.*, pp. 455-458, and 1894, I, 587-596.

⁵⁷ Quesada, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-157, 418, 424-427.

by the newly chosen president, Luis Sáenz Peña. He and his minister of justice and worship, Anchorena, conceded to the pope jurisdiction in matters pertaining to resignations of ecclesiastics. On the patronage, they seemed to feel that the Papacy could not be expected to recognize it as a sovereign power. Anchorena took the side of the Church in the Matera conflict, still bitterly disputed, but a subject which Quesada and Rampolla wisely ignored.⁵⁸

V

The administration of Sáenz Peña was short, for the vice president assumed the office in 1895 when the president gave up the task. In 1898, José Uriburu was succeeded by General Roca whom the electorate called back to the office from which he had retired a dozen years before. Both Uriburu and Roca were fortunate in entrusting the interests of Argentina at the Vatican to Carlos Calvo. Many North Americans are familiar with his name in connection with the doctrine that European nations have no right to employ force in the collection of private debts. In 1895, Calvo undertook his first mission to Rome. Through his intercession, the Papacy accepted the government's choice, Uladislao Castellano, as the new archbishop of Argentina.⁵⁹ With this success as his recommendation, the Argentine diplomat proceeded in the following year to negotiate for the establishment, long deferred, of the three new dioceses. The generally improved economic and political outlook of his nation and the congressional appropriations for the new bishoprics removed the major objections of the pope. Calvo and Rampolla agreed that the boundary lines by which certain missionary establishments were included in the new ecclesiastical units were to be provisional. The Papacy desired that the financial support of the new clerical hierarchy be equal to that of the older dioceses. To this Calvo was not in a position to agree. Rampolla was able to offer a compromise by which the appropriations for the new dioceses need not be made equal to those of the older clerical hierarchies

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 434-438.

⁵⁹ *R. N.*, 1895, I, 366, II, 602-603, 839.

until the religious seminaries and the cathedral chapters were established.⁶⁰

With the establishment of the new ecclesiastical positions, Calvo was called upon to present to the Holy See the government's candidates for them. Two of the older dioceses were without permanent heads. The Argentine statesman was instructed to obtain the pope's approval of the transfer of two bishops from the older bishoprics to the new, and confirmation of the other candidates. In the interest of speed, he was to request the pope to employ papal briefs, a departure from the traditional procedure. To these requests Leo XIII made no objections.⁶¹ In 1898, Calvo again journeyed from Berlin to Rome in order to present a candidate for the bishopric of Cuyo.⁶² The diplomatic breach opened by the Matera dispute of 1884 seemed completely closed in the following year when Calvo was given the rank of envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at the Vatican.⁶³ On the other hand, Pope Leo named Monseñor Antonio Sabatucci as internuncio at Buenos Aires.⁶⁴

One of the last tasks of Calvo at Rome, as it was one of the first, was the presentation of his government's choice for the vacant archepiscopal see. Archbishop Castellaño died less than four years after his accession, and the senate nominated the bishop of La Plata, Mariano Antonio Espinosa, for the position. Pope Leo had no objection to the appointment and issued a papal brief, dated August 31, 1900, which confirmed the government's choice.⁶⁵ Just prior to Calvo's de-

⁶⁰ Rampolla to Calvo, Rome, February 1, 1897, in *Memoria de Relaciones Exteriores*, 1897, pp. 7-8.

⁶¹ *E. N.*, 1897, III, 317; 1898, I, 824; Alcorta to Rampolla, Buenos Aires, November 10, 1897, and Alcorta to Calvo, Buenos Aires, November 10, 1897, in *Memoria de Relaciones Exteriores*, 1898, p. 6; Calvo to Alcorta, Rome, January 29, 1898, and February 28, 1898, *ibid.*, pp. 19-21.

⁶² Alcorta to Calvo, Buenos Aires, November 7, 1898, and Rampolla to Alcorta, Rome, December 21, 1898, *ibid.*, 1899, pp. 389-390, 393.

⁶³ *E. N.*, 1899, II, 218; Roca to Leo XIII, Buenos Aires, June 10, 1899, in *Memoria de Relaciones Exteriores*, 1900, pp. 5-6. ⁶⁴ *E. N.*, 1900, II, 26.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 1900, I, 289; Roca to Leo XIII, Buenos Aires, May 23, 1901, and Leo XIII brief of August 31, 1900, *Memoria de Relaciones Exteriores*, 1901, pp. 458-459, 461-462.

parture from Rome and just before the death of Pope Leo XIII, an agreement was reached by which the boundary of the diocese of Salta was made to include the national territory of Los Andes. The significance of this settlement was that ecclesiastical boundaries of the state became thereby coterminous with the political limits of the nation, for this territory had belonged ecclesiastically to Bolivia.⁶⁶

Calvo's successor was García Mansilla who, within a year after his appointment, was provided with a diplomatic staff more suitable to the elevated status of a representative from Argentina.⁶⁷ It became his first duty to inform his government of the death of Pope Leo.⁶⁸ President Roca decreed a period of national mourning, arranged for commemorative services, and provided for military honors. The ecclesiastical authorities were given special privileges in the use of the telegraph facilities in order to arrange for services.⁶⁹ On August 7, 1903, within three weeks of his arrival in Rome, Mansilla reported the choice of Guiseppe Sarto by the College of the Cardinals. The new Pope, Pius X, seems to have indicated a particular interest in Argentina owing in part to the increasing immigration of Italians.⁷⁰

The choice of the new pope revived agitation among the Americans for the elevation of their distinguished ecclesiastics to the College of Cardinals. Brazil had a claim for the honor since it had the largest population; Chile because it had the oldest archbishop; and Peru because it had the first Catholic hierarchy.⁷¹ In 1892, Quesada received the impression that an Argentinian would be considered.⁷² Pope Pius X, in December of 1905, named the archbishop of Brazil as the first South American cardinal. Argentina in general and Quesada in particular were disappointed. He reasoned that

⁶⁶ E. N., 1903, I, 471-472.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 1904, I, 330, 396.

⁶⁸ Mansilla to the Ministry of Worship (Joaquín V. González, interim minister), July 21, 1903, *Memoria de Relaciones Exteriores*, 1903-1904, pp. 143-145.

⁶⁹ E. N., 1903, II, 447.

⁷⁰ Mansilla to the Ministry of Worship, Rome, August 6 and August 13, 1903, *Memoria de Relaciones Exteriores*, 1903-1904, pp. 151-154.

⁷¹ Quesada, *op. cit.*, p. 456 n.

⁷² Quesada's report to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Rome, October 4, 1892, *Ibid.*, p. 427.

population was not and should not be the criterion for such selection, pointing to the eight million Catholics and two cardinals in the United States.⁷³

As Argentina grew in the first decade of the new century both in population and economic development, the need for the further division of the older dioceses increased. From 1907 to 1910, negotiations were undertaken by Alberto Blancas at the Vatican for the purpose of splitting up the large diocese of Tucumán. First, the political province of Santiago del Estero was separated from its sister provinces of Tucumán and Catamarca.⁷⁴ Then in 1909, congress authorized the establishment of two more bishoprics. Catamarca was to have an ecclesiastical hierarchy of its own leaving the old diocese of Tucumán a much reduced bishopric with boundaries coterminous with the political province of the same name. The other new diocese for which congress expressed a desire was that of Corrientes which was separated from the older bishopric of Tucumán.⁷⁵ To these changes Pope Pius X made no objection since the requirements of sufficient population and appropriation for the erection of new ecclesiastic units were met.⁷⁶ By these steps the political and ecclesiastical boundary lines were brought together. To some extent this may have reduced the chance of friction between Church and State, for so long as two or three provincial governors had the political administration of an area over which one bishop held religious sway, disputes between the civil and the ecclesiastical power were more complicated and difficult to solve.

Just before the outbreak of the world war and in the last months of the pontificate of Pius X, the Argentine hierarchy made a visit *ad limina* to Rome. The attitude of the government was benevolent and generous. To Archbishop Espinosa's request for money, the president allotted three thousand pesos for his expenses. The executive decree provided in addition one thousand pesos each for the bishops of La Plata, San Juan de Cuyo, Córdoba, Catamarca, and Paraná. No ob-

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 467-468.

⁷⁴ *B. N.*, 1907, III, 33-37.

⁷⁵ *Memoria de Relaciones Exteriores*, 1910-1911, pp. 379-380.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 382-384, 390.

jection was raised to the arrangements made by these distinguished men to have their duties administered during their absence by vicars of their own choosing.⁷⁷

During the decade of the war and the immediate post-war period, the relations between Argentina and the Papacy were uneventful, but from 1923 to 1926 a serious crisis developed over the age-long problem of the patronage. Archbishop Espinosa died on April 8, 1923, and following the customary procedure, the president presented to Pope Pius X the name of Miguel de Andrea as his successor.⁷⁸ The selection of Andrea was not well received at the Vatican and the negotiations became protracted. On November 8, for reasons which he had verbally communicated Andrea withdrew as a candidate. The president refused to accept the resignation. Again on December 14, Andrea formally declined the government's nomination, and again it was rejected.⁷⁹ Argentina and the Papacy had reached an impasse. For many months the problem remained unsolved.

While the appointment of an archbishop remained an open issue, another question arose to increase the tenseness of the atmosphere. Early in December, 1924, Juan Beda, the apostolic nuncio announced the designation of Bishop Juan Bornio as apostolic administrator. The minister of foreign relations took issue with this action of the pope's representative on two grounds. First he questioned the scope of authority of such an ecclesiastical official, and secondly, he objected to the manner of the appointing. On December 10, the government demanded the submission of the papal authorizations for the exequatur. The octogenarian bishop declined on the 13th to acquiesce. He contended that no law or constitutional provision required him to present the matter of his appointment prior to his pontifical nomination.⁸⁰ After receiving this chal-

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 1913-1914, pp. 473-474.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 1922-1925, Part II, p. 431.

⁷⁹ Andrea to President Alvear, Buenos Aires, November 8, 1923; reply of Alvear, November 23, 1923; Andrea to Alvear, December 14, 1923; Gallardo to Andrea, December 31, 1923, *ibid.*, pp. 433, 434, 434-435, 436.

⁸⁰ Gallardo to Boneo, Buenos Aires, December 10, 1924; Boneo to Gallardo, Santa Fé, December 13, 1924, *ibid.*, Part III, pp. 658, 660-661.

lenge from the aged Bishop Boneo, President Alvear consulted the procurator general whose opinion was that this type of appointment required the sanction of the government. On December 23, Foreign Minister Gallardo declined to recognize the new position and cautioned Bishop Boneo against exercising any duties pertaining to it. Three days later the bishop capitulated by turning the documents over to the government.⁸¹

It would appear that sometimes two disputes are more easily settled than one, for when two matters are contested, there is a greater opportunity for compromise. Both sides may save face. With the victory over the aged bishop secure, the government could afford to make concessions in the appointment of the archbishop. In a letter of November 15, 1924, Miguel de Andrea had pleaded to be released as the government's nominee for that position. Less than three weeks after Bishop Boneo acquiesced in the demand of the minister of foreign relations, the latter accepted Andrea's request to be allowed to withdraw.⁸²

The examination of Bishop Boneo's papal authorizations, however, produced a new conflict, a dispute over the ancient prerogatives of Church and State in a curiously modern setting. The bishop possessed a nomination not from the pope but from Juan Beda, the apostolic nuncio, who wrote it pursuant to telegraphic instructions from the Vatican.⁸³ In reviewing the case the procurator general affirmed that the documents did not constitute a papal bull, brief, or rescript. Assuming, therefore, that the nuncio was responsible for the appointment, the procurator denied that he had a right to make such a choice. Thus the Argentine government was confronted with the problem of defending the patronage where there was no papal document upon which to exercise the *exequatur*. Was the Papacy to use the modern wireless tel-

⁸¹ Horacio R. Larreta to the Ministry of Worship, Buenos Aires, December 20, 1924; Gallardo to Boneo, December 23, 1924; Boneo to Gallardo, Santa Fé, December 26, 1924, *ibid.*, pp. 662-667, 668, 669-670.

⁸² Andrea to Alvear, Buenos Aires, November 15, 1924; reply of the president, January 14, 1925, *ibid.*, p. 655.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 670.

egram as an instrument for maintaining its medieval prerogatives? In its advisory opinion, the supreme court concurred in the views of the procurator general, but it issued a separate opinion.⁸⁴ It held that a papal mandate naming Bishop Boneo as administrator should be regarded as established although the traditional forms were absent. In its decision, the court swept aside the argument that canon law permitted the appointment of an apostolic administrator in times of emergency by the assertion that Argentina had never recognized such a law.⁸⁵

Two events in 1926 and in 1927 brought an end to the friction between the Papacy and Argentina. The two powers agreed in October, 1926, upon José María Bottaro to occupy the archbishop's seat. On this occasion, it is interesting to note, the government presented its candidate by telegraph and the pope confirmed the choice in the same manner.⁸⁶

With the restoration of normal relations with the Vatican, Argentina proceeded to raise the rank of its representative at Rome. President Alvear in June, 1923, recommended that such a step be taken since the Papacy had given its minister at Buenos Aires the character of a permanent nuncio in 1917. But the unhappy events of 1923 to 1926 prevented the accomplishment of the president's suggestion. After a four-year postponement, congress enacted a law which provided for the fulfilment of Alvear's proposal. Argentina's minister to Belgium, Alberto Blancas, became by a decree of November 8, 1927, its first ambassador at the Vatican.⁸⁷

ALMON R. WRIGHT.

The National Archives,
Washington.

⁸⁴ For a discussion of the advisory opinions of the Argentine supreme court and of the procurator general in ecclesiastical matters, see Almon R. Wright, "The Origins of the Argentine Supreme Court", in *World Affairs*, LXCIX (September, 1936), 165-170.

⁸⁵ Decision of the Court, February 6, 1925, *Memoria Relaciones Exteriores*, 1922-1925, Part III, pp. 678-683.

⁸⁶ Daniel García Mansilla to Congress, annual report, *ibid.*, 1927, p. 967.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

SPANISH INFLUENCE IN THE UNITED STATES: ECONOMIC ASPECTS

The Spanish occupation and settlement of the United States have played influential parts in the cultural, economic, political, and anthropological history, as well as the present content of American civilization. The Spanish influence upon the United States is coeval with Spain's first explorations and settlements. The quantities of cattle, sheep, and horses brought by the earliest Spaniards form the basis of the later American cattle and sheep industries, with the horse furnishing its own kind of importance in the range industry and in the life of the Indian.¹

These hundreds of thousands of animals became, at the end of Spanish rule, elements of the vast, unearned wealth taken over by the Americans. In 1846, in Texas the home of the cattle industry, there were 382,733 cattle having a value of \$1,510,590. It is on the basis of such wealth that it has been said that the history of the cattle industry of Texas has been coincident with the entire political, economic, and social development of Texas as a province of Spain and of Mexico, as a republic and as a state of the American Union.² The Americans who settled Texas during and after the thirties brought a few milch cows, but in the main the beef cattle industry stems from the descendants of those "longhorns" that the Spanish brought with them.³ Between 1846 and 1855

¹ The very name of the cowpony, "mustang" comes from the Spanish *mestefio* meaning a stray from the herd. Bronco in Spanish means wild or untamed.

² D. E. McArthur, *Cattle Industry of Texas, 1685-1918*, 3 vols., Thesis, University of Texas, 1918, I, iv.

³ E. E. Dale, *The Range Cattle Industry*, Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1930, p. 72. The domination of the Spanish element in the cattle industry is indicated in the earliest figures that can be obtained for this industry: of some 100,000 cattle in Texas in the decade beginning 1820, the Spanish breed roamed over four-fifths of the territory. C. M. Love, "History of the Cattle Industry in the Southwest", in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XIX, 372.

the property value of horses and cattle rose from \$2,929,322 to \$16,916,833 representing, in the latter year, 1,603,146 cattle and horses.⁴ Mexican cattle of longhorn breed came in large herds into Texas at this period, contributing to this tremendous property value.⁵

The Spaniards in Texas were subordinate to the Coahuila cattle barons,⁶ and the value of the cattle and the wealth available to the later American cattle owners were but the results of Spanish occupation and methods. The Americans were operating upon lands the title, limits and range rights of which were fixed by Spanish law, confirmed after 1848 by the terms of the cession to the United States. Many ranchers in Texas had as the legal permission for operation, land grants of the Mexican Republic—one Spanish element which they had no objection to retaining, taking pains to retain these⁷

⁴ McArthur, *op. cit.*, p. 64. During the same time the aggregate value of all the other taxable property in the state—and the real estate was largely Spanish in origin, with title resting upon Spanish laws and grants—rose from \$34,391,174 to \$150,000,000.

⁵ Love, *op. cit.* in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XX, 2. J. E. Haley, *Survey of Texas Cattle Drives to the North, 1886-1896*, Thesis, University of Texas, 1920, p. 72.

⁶ As early as the middle of the eighteenth century there were 58,000 horses, 288,999 sheep and goats, 1,874 burros and 25,000 cattle in the colony of Nuevo Santander alone (H. E. Bolton, *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century*, Berkeley, 1915, p. 300). Yet, during the later part of Spanish rule in Texas, a Mexican could say: "The principal productions are at present reduced to Indian corn, a little wheat, and less sugar cane—(and) the Spaniards are mere spectators of these prodigious productions (fishing and cattle raising), in which a valuable trade is carried on by the native Indians [*sic*] with the Americans". See Miguel Ramos de Arizpe, *Memorial on the Natural, Political and Civil State of the Province of Coahuila, One of the Four Internal Provinces of the East in the Kingdom of Mexico, and Those of the New Kingdom of Leon, New Santander and Texas* (Philadelphia, 1814), p. 20. It would seem that the mercantilist policy for whose abandonment Ramos de Arizpe pleads, and the power of the North Mexican cattle barons had something to do with this apathy.

⁷ Haley, *op. cit.*, p. 86. In December, 1821, the committee of the provisional junta submitted its estimate of the value of Texas to the Mexican government. The committee produced figures to show what Mexico could gain by settling Texas "rightly":

The province according to Luis de Onís, Spanish minister to the United States in 1819, had an extent of 271,868,500 acres, according to Humboldt 164,966,705 acres, and according to the *Diccionario* of Núñez Taboada consisted of 20,061,405

where they applied to range rights.⁸ New Mexico used the same range system and rights but substituted sheep, brought by the Spanish, for the longhorn. The sheep-raising industry of the west is an institution derived from New Mexico exactly as the range cattle business was an industry derived in Texas from New Spain.⁹ Expansion westward of the cattle trade, and the proximity of Colorado to New Mexico, are the reasons for the development of the former into statehood. For the beginnings of ranching in Colorado were linked with New Mexican stockraising, and were influenced by the Spanish and Mexican occupation and herding in that region.¹⁰ The range industry then spread north to Wyoming and Montana, opening up the west.

The menace of the Spanish "fever" to the northern cattle appeared in the American period. To eliminate the danger, Kansas and Missouri passed laws limiting the entry or transit of the longhorn and subjected the cattle to quarantine.¹¹ The Texas cattle owners had to pass their cattle through before

acres. The commission adopted the figures of Humboldt, which at a charge of four reales would bring the government 86,483,375 pesos each year. Deducting, therefrom, 58,322,250 acres of pueblo, mission, presidio, river, mountain, and "laguna", a charge of four reales would benefit the Mexican Empire some 29,160,125 pesos. See "Dictámen presentado á la soberana junta . . . por la comisión de relaciones exteriores". 29 diciembre del año 1821. Documentos Diplomáticos Mexicanos en *Revista Mexicana de Derecho Internacional*, Tómo 1, núm. 2, 1919.

⁸ The Texas Legislature in 1866 granted to the individual rancher exclusive rights in and to a range (E. S. Osgood, *Day of the Cattleman*, Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1929, p. 33).

⁹ The purely native characteristics of these industries are defended in *Prose and Poetry of the Live Stock Industry of the United States* (Denver and Kansas City, 1905, I, 387-400).

¹⁰ Dale, *op. cit.*, p. 86; *Prose and Poetry*, I, 419.

¹¹ Osgood, *op. cit.*, p. 36. The menace of the Spanish fever was considerably overemphasized, although the dangers were real, and "it was remarkable how a little cash allayed the fears of Spanish fever" (Haley, *op. cit.*, p. 158). The disease formed the subject of innumerable press articles and tracts, leading finally, in 1868, to a Federal investigation. As a rancher of the time remarked, however: "Gentlemen, if I can make any money out of this cattle trade, I am not afraid of Spanish fever, but if I can't make any money out of this cattle trade, then I am d——d afraid of Spanish fever". J. G. McCoy, *Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade of the West and Southwest*, 2nd ed., Wash., 1932, p. 65.

May 1. This difficulty plus those of crossing the Indian reservations and the barrier of the "wild" Indians, forced the cattle trails to bend westward to the Panhandle region, and thence up through eastern Colorado to the northern range. The advent of these cattle suggested to Colorado a source of wealth more fruitful than mining—its lands were rich in pasture grass—and by 1869 that state had 1,000,000 cattle of the Spanish longhorn type, and a considerable number of sheep.¹² From Colorado, the longhorn entered Wyoming leaving the range system, the cowboy, and branding behind.¹³ The advent of the railroads to tap this wealth, the flow of eastern capital, and the opening of local banks led to the statehood of Colorado and Wyoming.

The cowboy was as important to the cattle industry as the longhorn, pony, and the open range. His utensils, language and methods were also derived from the Spanish-Mexican. These Spanish methods and implements were so well developed even before the period of English colonization, that when the American range industry commenced it took over the Spanish range system with slight modifications.¹⁴ One part of the cowboy equipment, the range saddle, was the cowboy's throne.

It is doubtful if the range industry would have developed to the degree it did if this type of saddle had not existed. . . . The tall horn furnished a peg around which to wrap the lariat while roping cattle.¹⁵

¹² Osgood, p. 40.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

¹⁴ E. Dick, "The Long Drive" in *Kansas State Historical Association Publications*, XXVII, p. 28. In 1870 most of the cowboys in the cattle industry were Mexicans, and at the height of the cattle industry there were 100,000 cowboys (*Prose and Poetry*, I, 592).

¹⁵ Dick, *op. cit.*, p. 51. This process is called "dallying", and itself is derived from the Spanish. There is a description of this process by George Vancouver, in 1792 (*A Voyage to the North Pacific Ocean and round the World*, 3 vols., London, 1798, II, 23). The author describes methods known to Americans as "cutting out" and "hogtying":

"Each of the soldiers was provided with a strong line made of horse hair, or of thongs of leather or rather hide, with a long running noose; this is thrown with great dexterity whilst at full speed, and nearly with a certainty, over the horns of the animal, by two men, one on each side of the ox, at the same instant

Branding, the roundup (*rodeo*), exclusive rights to a range—all these methods combined with the longhorn, sheep, and cowpony to put the range industries in debt to Spain.

In sixteenth-century Mexico, as well as on the later frontiers, the Spanish cattle barons were protected by special legislation and put under the jurisdiction of the "alcaldes de la mesta"—the forerunners of the later Cattle Raisers Associations of the United States.¹⁶ The authority of the "alcalde" in deciding violations of the cattle codes and laws had a continued application in the United States. Although in California its use waned with the decline of the cattle industry, yet "in West Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, and northward, wherever great cattle ranges are found today, the stock men . . . in their 'roundups' still follow the ancient Spanish plan; not knowing it is a heritage from a race they despise, they choose 'cattle judges' to settle disputes and uphold their decisions as final".^{16a}

During the eighteenth century, while the English were east

of time; and having a strong high peaked pommel to their saddles, each takes a turn round it with the end of the line, and by that means the animal is kept completely at bay; and effectually prevented from doing either the men or horses any injury. . . ." These same soldiers after their terms of service had expired remained in the country, entering private employ as *vaqueros* (cowboys) or becoming cattle owners themselves.

The Spanish influence upon the cowboy is very clear. He, as "buckaroo" (*vaquero*), bears a Spanish name. His rope known as "lariat" or "lasso" comes either from *la reata* or *lazo*, while "hondoo", his word for loop, is taken from *hondo*. A short list of words will indicate the borrowing, while the selection points out the field of application: *remuda* (animals), *burro*, *atajo* (outfit), *tapajo* (blinder), *aparajo* (pack saddle) held fast by *cinchas*, and *latigo*; *rancho*, *chaparejo* (chaps), *tapadero* (taps), *caballada* (cavvieryard), *ouerda* (quirt), *juzgado* (hoosegow), and *estampida* (stampede).

¹⁶ Haley, *op. cit.*, p. 14. The *alcalde de la mesta* or *jefe del campo* judged questions of ownership, identity, brands, etc. His duties are described in the "Recopilación Sumaria de algunos Mandamientos y Ordenanzas del Gobierno de Esta Nueva España", by Juan Francisco de Montemayor y Córdova de Cuenca, which is found in the *Recopilación Sumaria de Todos los Autos Acordados de la Real Audiencia y Sala del Crimen de Esta Nueva España*, by Eusibio Bentura Beleña (2 tom., Mexico, 1787), I, folio 2, chaps. 54-67, pp. 27-65. These are a compilation mainly of the ordinances of January 25, 1574.

^{16a} Charles Howard Shinn, *Mining Camps: A Study in American Frontier Government* (New York, 1885), pp. 86-87.

of the Mississippi, livestock introduced and left by the Spanish was a valuable and important source of food in the colonies (and states) of Georgia and Carolina. There also both the methods and the creatures of the range were Spanish, derived from the West Indies, and especially Jamaica which was a Spanish colony before its possession by the English and the settlement of Charleston. Settlers of the southern seaboard came in numbers from the West Indies and Jamaica where the English had adopted the Spanish herds and technique. Southern fence laws, range and toll systems grew out of the stock laws of Jamaica which in turn reproduced those of the range districts of Spain.¹⁷ Both Spanish cattle and horses were largely obtained, in the south of English ancestry, from the Spanish colonies.¹⁸ Spanish cattle were brought to colonial Virginia from the West Indies, while in early Georgia there was a marked similarity between the English annual roundups, brandings, long "drives" to tidewater, and the Spanish methods.¹⁹

Later American ranchers and sheepherders built up great private wealth and estates on Spanish land and domain—with the capital investments of horses, cattle, sheep, and a centuries' old technique already at their disposal. The rancher's only difficulty was the Indian, a continually important factor in the expansion of the Spanish and the American frontier.²⁰ With such a start the cattle industry was able to expand easily. Capital from Europe was invested. Growing industrialism found large city populations here a ready market for this beef, and statehood resulted. With the exception of this capital, which only began to flow during the "seven-

¹⁷ L. C. Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860* (2 vols., Washington, 1933), I, 151 ff. ¹⁸ *Infra*, note 74.

¹⁹ Lyman Carrier, *Beginnings of Agriculture in America* (New York, 1923), p. 215.

²⁰ One of the few northward frontier movements took place as a result of the northward drive of Texas cattle. The entire Spanish settlement of Coahuila, New Santander, Texas, and New Mexico is a story of a frontier moving north, with Coahuila, the cattle region, the base. The northward push into Texas from Coahuila (under Spain) was continued by the northward expansion into Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, and New Mexico, with Texas as a base.

ties", there seems to have been nothing the American rancher or cowboy added to the industry.

But the Spaniards did not introduce the longhorn alone, nor did they limit their settlement to Texas and New Mexico. In Florida, before the Civil War, the herding of cattle and hogs similarly of Spanish provenance, was one of the most important industries.²¹ The mule industry of Missouri seems to have begun with the increased importation from New Mexico, after the opening of the Santa Fe Trail in 1821.²² In 1859, 250,000 Mexican sheep and cattle were brought into Texas.²³ But the introduction of the cat, barnyard fowl, horse, hog, sheep, and goat although important to later white settlements, found widest influence among the Indians.

Both on the soil and below, the Spaniards left records and methods to be adopted by later farmers, fruit growers, and miners. On the surface, the Spanish colonists in this region and all over the new world sought to reproduce their native environment by "covering the surface with familiar plants and animals".²⁴ By the end of the sixteenth century, all agricultural paraphernalia and requirements had already been transferred to America.²⁵ In 1520, the following tools were sent to the new world: 200 hoes, 200 spades, 6 grinding stones, 6 sharpening stones, 200 clamps, 200 plough paddles, files, pliers, etc., in addition to every type of seed.²⁶ Even rice was planted and its cultivation required.²⁷ From the time of Cortés hardly a ship or individual left Spain without carrying some sort of seed or plant.²⁸ With the northward expan-

²¹ Gray, *op. cit.*, II, 902.

²² *Ibid.*, II, 852.

²³ *Ibid.*, II, 834.

²⁴ A. P. Whitaker, "The Spanish Contribution to American Agriculture", in *Agricultural History*, III (January 1929), 5.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 8.

²⁶ *Aportación de los Colonizadores Españoles á la Prosperidad de América, 1493-1516* (Madrid, 1929, Ministerio de Fomento).

²⁷ Cédula, December 10, 1512, *ibid.*, p. 45.

²⁸ "Paraque cada Navío traiga cierta cantidad de Plantas, y que no pueda salir sin ellas porque sera mucha causa para la Población, y perpetuación de ella" (Cortés in his fourth letter). See also the *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* written in 1653 by Padre Bernabé Cobo. As to the success of Cortés's request, Cobo writes (II, 342): "pues casi no hay hombre curioso que destas Indias vaya á España

sion of New Spain all sorts of plants and seed were introduced and successfully cultivated. When the English ousted the Spanish from Florida and Georgia, peaches and figs were found along the Georgian and South Carolinian coast, which were the plantings of the Spanish missions in that region, and accompanied their attempts to civilize the same Indians that the English settlers had to oust. There was no product contributed to the agriculture of America by the English of Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas which the Spaniards had not planted earlier in those regions, or which the "Spanish settlements of Florida and New Mexico did not know".²⁹ Spanish settlement is a story not only of a search for gold as is that of every other European nation with a colony or a foothold in the new world, using the "fire and sword" method common to imperialistic nations establishing hegemony over a backward land and people, but Spain's was an imperialism that spread civilization, giving new adaptability and power to the Indian groups, especially in the American Southwest. A permanent transfer of Spanish civilization to the new world was always intended, and not merely the damming up of rivers, the turning up of fertile land, in a passionate, singleminded lust for gold and nothing else.³⁰

The American Territories derived from the cession of 1848 had been frontier settlements. Hence friars, and not priests, entered these regions to protect the Indians and to coördinate under mission control, great orchards containing

que á la vuelta no procure traer semillas y posturas de algunas frutas que todavía faltan en ella". In the second volume of Cobo's work (Book X, pp. 341-451), is a detailed list and examination of the animals, plants, fruits, trees, and flowers brought by Spain to the new world. For some English excerpts from Cobo deepened by maturer reading and wider reference see James A. Robertson, "Some Notes on the Transfer by Spain of Plants and Animals to its Colonies Overseas" in the *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, XIX, no. 2, 1-21, which is an introduction to a more complete analysis of the subject expected in the future (*ibid.*, note 5, p. 8). Similarly see also the article of Whitaker cited above.

²⁹ Gray, *op. cit.*, I, 3.

³⁰ As early as 1524, Cortés's *Ordenanzas* expressed his conviction that permanent occupation of the soil only could lead to its culture and he never forgot the lesson that the decline of population in the West Indies islands pointed out.

oranges, apples, grapes, figs, apricots, limes, pomegranates, peaches, pears, olives, and citrus fruits. Outside of the mission any attempt to raise fruits was frowned upon.³¹

When the Americans took California they laid their practices upon the Spanish foundations. The mission grounds were continued in cultivation and "the orange growers of the south did little more than keep up the Spanish groves",³² so that by 1880, 260,000 orange trees had been planted in older mission groves.³³ Vineyards also retained their original sites. Up to 1860, there was only one grape grown in that state, the Mission grape, of which in 1868 there were 30,000,000 vines yielding some 7,000,000 gallons of wine although Californian exports of wine from the state had not as yet begun.³⁴ Raisin growing and drying, were introduced from Málaga in Spain.³⁵ The Spanish had experimented with seeds, tested the soil as to its receptivity, planted widely, introduced methods of irrigation, and produced every variety of fruit now grown, the very trees of which still stand.³⁶ Great claims for native ingenuity were made as early as 1886 when the governor of California declared:

³¹ H. H. Bancroft, *California Pastoral* (San Francisco 1886), p. 337. The Indian did all the work, supervised by the padres who taught the natives (those who had submitted to conversion) the arts of agriculture. The harvest and the distribution of the crop were completely in the hands of the missionary who taught the Indian to make clothes from sheep's wool. The Indians were taught as well to build homes in the European style, with gardens to the rear. See Vancouver, *op. cit.*, IV, 152-154.

³² K. Coman, *Economic Beginnings of the Far West* (New York, 1912), II, 213.

³³ H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1890), VII, 42. A single orange tree yielded fifty dollars per year, and an acre, \$3,000. See S. Bowles, *Our New West* (Chicago, 1869), p. 436.

³⁴ Bowles, *op. cit.*, p. 433.

³⁵ Bancroft, *History of California*, VII, note p. 3. The transplanting of European (including Spanish) vines to California had success because no other grape save the Mission could be crossed with the foreign types, and that while these foreign grapes were "not successfully cultivated elsewhere (were) here immediately successful". See L. H. Bailey, *Cyclopedia of American Agriculture* (4 vols., New York, 1907-09), II, 182.

³⁶ There are pear trees at the San Juan Bautista Mission near Monterey, planted by the padres, which are still bearing.

A state that can show a production annually of from 20 to 40 million bushels of wheat, 15 to 18 million gallons of wine, thousands of tons of fruit, 8 to 19 million pounds of wool, a half million boxes of raisins, and whose citrus fruits are the admiration of all, must be prosperous.⁸⁷

Other items of Spanish introduction or origin may be mentioned briefly. Sugarcane came into the new world with an early settler of Española, at which island the cane was first planted and grown in the new world,⁸⁸ and in which direction the present planters of Texas and Louisiana should look. In California, the mission at San Luis Obispo, grew an olive oil superior to that in Spain.⁸⁹ Into California the friars and Spanish ranchers brought the "alfilería", now called filaree, and still used as green feed. It is occasionally called pin-grass, from the Spanish "alfiler". In Florida as well, there was considerable Spanish influence exerted upon agriculture, methods and products.⁴⁰ In California, the flax cultivated and developed in the colonial period,⁴¹ became valuable in the next century when that state developed an industrial and manufacturing system.

From the time of Father Kino the missions in Sonora cultivated cotton and experimented with the native varieties.⁴²

⁸⁷ In Theodore H. Hittell, *History of California* (4 vols., San Francisco, 1885), IV, 708. So far as this great wheat production is concerned, it is to be observed that the wheat introduced from 1493 on and planted all over the hemisphere "was of importance to future wheat production and improvement in Western United States. It brought to America the best wheats of Spain, both club and common, tested under a wide range of conditions, and developed those best suited to hot, dry climates. When these wheats reached California, therefore, about 1770 or thereafter, they were already adapted to the conditions and provided a good basis for the work of American improvers, and some are still widely grown upon the Pacific Coast". See Carleton R. Ball, "History of American Wheat Improvement" in *Agricultural History*, IV, no. 2, pp. 56, 57.

⁸⁸ Cobo, *op. cit.*, II, 408.

⁸⁹ "El aceite de comer que se fabrica en la misión de San Luis Obispo, es tan bueno ó mejor que el español, y la aceituna de San Diego, apreciada en igualdad con la sevillana" (*Colección de Documentos Relativos al Departamento de Californias*, publicados por Manuel Castañares, Mexico, 1845, p. 31).

⁴⁰ Gray, *op. cit.*, I, 9. See especially chapter I.

⁴¹ Coman, *op. cit.*, I, 148.

⁴² During the American period it was reintroduced from Sonora into California but its cultivation was not kept up. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, VII, 30. In a *Descripción*

About 1806 an event important in the history of the southern United States took place. Cotton from Mexico was introduced. The earliest seeds used in the south were the black and Tennessee green seeds. Of the former, the average day's picking yielded thirty to forty pounds of cotton, and of the latter seventy-five to one hundred pounds. The Mexican seed, with wide open, large bolls, allowed picking of one hundred and fifty pounds of cotton at first, and later, several hundred pounds.⁴³ Adaptation to the soil made quick and easy progress and "in another decade it had replaced almost completely all other varieties", spreading to Alabama, South Carolina, Louisiana, Arkansas and Mississippi.⁴⁴ So great was its influence upon cotton production that "from an economic point of view, the introduction of this seed was second in importance to the invention of the saw gin".⁴⁵

Spain is also to be credited with the introduction of new world plants to North America, after having been first in acquainting European minds with their existence. The potato, peanuts, tomatoes, and Central American garden peppers were first brought into Europe by Spaniards. Tobacco is another of these West Indian plants that was reintro-

y Noticia Individual de las Misiones de la Pimería Baja, by Fray Antonio de los Reyes, Mexico, 1772, the author describes several missions of that region. At Tecoripa Mission, sugarcane and much cotton was grown (p. 739). Since the people did not wear clothing (p. 740), it is safe to assume that a large amount of the surplus was sold. At the Misión de la Purísima Concepción de Caborca in Upper Pimería, he says, "Las tierras y temperamento de esta misión son muy á propósito para labores y cultivo de algodón" (p. 764).—From *Documentos para la Historia de Méjico*, Serie 4, Tomo 3-4.

⁴³ James L. Watkins, *King Cotton* (New York, 1908), p. 13.

⁴⁴ Gray, II, 689, 702-703. Watkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 162, 172. It was introduced into Mississippi in 1806 and known there as the "Petit Gulf" seed. After the introduction of the Mexican seed along the coasts and lowlands, the upland variety was crossed with Nicaragua and Arizona (Pimería) cotton. Many new seeds and varieties were developed from the Mexican seed by selection and careful planting.

⁴⁵ Watkins, p. 13. The Mexican seed was free from disease, and had so much larger and easier yield that production was greatly cheapened (*ibid.*, p. 32). So important was the seed that in Louisiana beginning about 1828, the importation of Mexican cotton seed from Tampico and Vera Cruz developed into a business (*ibid.*, p. 193).

duced. The permanence of the Spanish influence in American agriculture is made clear by indicating the continued and present use of the example set by Spain in the different branches of economy described. The term "native" must be cautiously applied to American agriculture. For, not only in the United States, but throughout the new world, the extraordinary vegetation, the rapidity of plant growth, the fertility of the soil, the reproduction of animals which multiplied herds, led, in the seventeenth century, and still leads many "who are guided only by what they see" to doubt that these ever came from Spain.⁴⁶

The consideration of the extent of the Spanish influence upon the horticultural and the range industries is aided by a hint of the importance of Spanish law and grants. In adjudication, Spanish law and custom was the basis of reference. In the New Mexican territory a surveyor general sent out in 1854 to investigate the titles to the land under question, had to study Spanish and Mexican usages and customs. To obtain the necessary information, the investigator was to refer to the laws of Spain, and to examine all the local "requirements and usages in connection with Spanish law and the legislation of Congress upon the subject" *in order that the principles of Spanish law might be applied.*⁴⁷ But adjudication was so slow, that by 1880 the secretary of the interior expressed both impatience and the importance of the Spanish grants in the economic life of the west by saying that

the construction of railroads through New Mexico and Arizona and the consequent influx of population in these territories, renders it imperatively necessary that these claims be settled finally with the least possible delay.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Cobo, *op. cit.*, II, 342. On the comparative importance to civilization of the metals brought to Europe from the new world, and the introduction of Spanish plants, animals and technique, Cobo writes (II, 344): "De suerte que podemos decir con verdad que deste cambio que la América ha hecho con España, comunicándole sus ricos metales y recibiendo della en trueco los animales, y plantas de que se halla bien proveída, ha sido la América notoriamente mejorada".

⁴⁷ R. H. Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History* (Cedar Rapids, 1911-12), II, note p. 458. Italics are not in the original.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, II, note p. 461.

But the supreme court had earlier declared that

these two sovereignties (Spain and Mexico) are the spring head of all titles to land in California (Texas, New Mexico), at the time of cession. That cession did not impair the rights of private property.⁴⁹

Consequently, in the range industries, mining, "squatter" and homestead possession, railroad rights to land, and in reference to the expressed cheap land policy of congress, the Spanish land grants assumed significance. The cattle-raisers were threatened by immigration which recognized neither the Spanish grants, nor any farm, range or water rights not actually in use.

Ever since the Indian had disappeared into the reservations, the profits of the range had caused a rise in land prices which incurred the cited opposition. At this point, a combination of circumstances tended to end the dispute. It was solved by force when farmers (homesteaders) and sheep raisers reached a conclusion to confine the cattle ranges to barbed wire limitations. These "cattle wars" of the west were clashes of homesteaders with holders of Spanish land titles, and of owners of Spanish sheep and cattle. The history of the west cannot be told without reference to Spanish land grants or their effect upon the two range industries.

The Spanish law ascribes possession of minerals in the subsoil to the crown (sovereign) while it allows common law

⁴⁹ U. S. vs. Moreno (1863). Wallace, *Reports*, 404. It is interesting to note an excerpt from a decision of Justice Wilbur F. Stone of the Land Court (created in 1891 to settle the New Mexican claims and completing its duties in 1904): "An interesting feature of the business of the court, is the historical romance attaching to the holding and settlement of these lands . . . the oral testimonies . . . dating back to what they had heard told by their aged grandfathers. In these stories one could look in fancy over the long trails these settlers followed and see the marches of the first Spanish invaders, the old conquistadores . . . bearing the flag of Spain . . . the banner of the Cross. . . : The greatest romance in the drama of American history, touched upon by the pen of Prescott and the Spanish chroniclers, is spread over the sunlands of (the Southwest), the trans-Missouri, and the Pacific half of the continent, now the graveyard of the peaceful . . . Pueblo, and the fierce Apache. . . ." See Twitchell, II, 470. But the Spanish influence is limited neither to the Mississippi nor to romance.

rights of private ownership to the surface. Spanish theories of sovereignty had a significant rôle in our history.⁵⁰

The acquisition of the Louisiana Territory brought into American jurisprudence the *Siete Partidas*, which became a part of the structure of the jurisprudence of Louisiana. There the Spanish law was left to develop without being abolished, for with the creation of the Territory of Orleans in 1805, only the Spanish criminal law was supplanted.⁵¹ In ten states of the Purchase, the influence of the Louisiana Civil Code is a permanent tribute to the excellence of the amalgamation of the Roman-French-Spanish law.⁵²

In Texas, up to 1883 the state, through the school fund, received five per cent from the gross receipts of the operation of mineral concessions. The Spanish called this the "*regalía*", a part of the royal income derived from a percentage of the gross income of let mining rights. The state owned the lands, and their operation by private persons with royalty to

⁵⁰In the same way as land grants, the water laws of Spain, which made rights to a stream communal and placed ownership in the sovereign, were applied in California under the Spanish régime and ratified after the cession. But placer mining altered all this. While the water law of California as applied by the courts threw aside the common law of riparian rights of individuals ("*Water Law of the Public Domain*" by S. P. Will, in *American Law Review*, XLIII, 493), yet these rights had been "tacitly conferred or transferred (by) full Federal title to the mines and waters. Individual seizure of waters and mines, as it had been in land, was permitted by the sovereign". The rights of the sovereign to soil and water was recognized in theory but "occupation was based upon presumption by the courts of permission by the United States to occupy" (*ibid.*, p. 496). This theory of the abandonment of sovereign rights by the government to the "temporary" owner is based upon the grant of congress in 1866. It is a curious legal fiction—but the theory of the law is not the common one; it is the Spanish riparian and subsoil law.

⁵¹"*Roman and Civil Law in America*", by W. W. Howe, in *Harvard Law Review*, XVI (1903), 356.

⁵²Charles P. Sherman, *Roman Law in the Modern World* (3 vols., Boston, 1917), pp. 294-295. "Spanish Law of Prescription", C. S. Walton in *Annual Bulletin* (1909) of the *Comparative Law Bureau of the American Bar Association*. These principles of prescription in reference to property rights and actions arising therefrom are to be found in the Louisiana Civil Code Articles 3458 and 3459. Many clauses of the code are similar to Spanish provisions and the decisions are rendered in such light (pp. 26, 28).

the state was the policy adopted.⁵³ And in 1840, when Texas adopted the common law, only the laws of the Spanish relating to minerals were retained.⁵⁴

In 1807, the lead ores and salt springs found in land grants in the Louisiana Territory were reserved from sale, and the authority was vested in the president to lease the mines for periods of five years in tracts of one square mile, stipulating the necessary return of six per cent of the sale of the ores. The first lease issued under these conditions was awarded in 1822. The system was abandoned, however, in 1846, and congress restored to the states the rights to sell the salt springs, and opened as public lands the formerly leased tracts in the lead and copper mining districts. In upper and lower Louisiana the Spanish grants put in question the ownership of the best mines of Missouri and Iowa and "the lead claims of upper Louisiana introduced hitherto unknown elements into our jurisprudence".⁵⁵ The lead and copper miners of Louisiana were faced with Spanish grants, concessions, and laws. In this territory of the Louisiana Purchase,

in the heart of the continent, midway between the Lakes and the Gulf, the American miner first met the Spanish influence that he was to find once more, in far stronger forms, on the shore of the Pacific.⁵⁶

It is fitting to point out, by way of concluding the topic of mining, that one of the most important processes of mining—the patio process for the extraction of silver from ores—

⁵³ "Financial History of Texas", in *Bulletin of University of Texas* (no. 37), 1916, p. 347.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 345.

⁵⁵ Shinn, *op. cit.*, p. 42. In 1853, the supreme court decided that the lead mines near Dubuque belonged to the government. In 1788, Julien Dubuque, an Indian trader, had received from five Indian chiefs a tract of 100,000 acres of land. This transfer of title was forbidden under the Spanish law which compelled such recipients of Indian grants to have their title approved and accepted by the Spanish authorities. Up to the supreme court decision this grant caused trouble. In 1833, the troops were called out to quell uprisings and the government was compelled to lease the land to the miners.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 45. The mining camps of the Spaniards had long adopted the *alcalde* system to arbitrate and settle disputes. This system was used in California also. Some Spanish words appearing in the speech of the American miner are *placer*, *bonanza*, *xacal* (shack), *estaca* (stake), *escoria* (scoria or slag).

was discovered by a Spaniard, Bartolomé de Medina of Pachuca in New Spain, in 1557.⁵⁷ This important discovery allowed the working of mines which had hitherto been abandoned, and yielded great results from newly worked mines. The method was adopted by miners all over the world since that date,⁵⁸ and was used in the extraction of silver from the lodes of Arizona, Nevada, and Southern California. In a mining operation of 1859, in Nevada, the work was carried out by using quicksilver, since the gold there was very fine. This was ore from the Comstock lode "then unnamed".⁵⁹ Again, at the Mariposa mine in the Sierra Nevada in 1850 gold was taken from quartz by amalgamating it with quicksilver.⁶⁰

The alteration of the Indian's mode of existence has an additional importance. The early Spanish writers had assigned the name "gallina" to the native, wild turkey,⁶¹ which was kept in a non-wild state by the natives for decoration and

⁵⁷ Humboldt in his *Essai Politique*, II, 559, mentions as discoverers two other Spaniards: Juan Diaz de la Calle (1566) or Fernández de Velasco (1571).

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* Friedrich Traugott Sonnenschmid in his *Tratado de la Amalgamación de Nueva España* (translation, Mexico, 1825), was able to say two and one half centuries after the discovery: "Todos los demás métodos de beneficiar minerales de plata por azogue, deben respetar á esta primera y original amalgamación, como á su madre y origen" (p. ix). The same author adds (p. 160): "este beneficio por azogue, cuya invención se debe á la nación española, ha producido la mayor parte de la enorme cantidad de plata que está girando en el mundo".

⁵⁹ "The First Ore from Washoe" from the "Reminiscences of Mahlon Dickinson Fairchild" in the *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XII, no. 4, p. 328: "It was very near the last days of September before it dawned upon the perception of the first locators of that historic mineral lode, that instead of having a gold mine, silver was the predominating metal. A Mexican one day happened along where Comstock and his partner were rocking, and noticing the heavy stone with the 'bluish' cast . . . observed that it was similar to ore he had seen in the silver mines of Mexico, and he at once pronounced it *plate*" (p. 329).

⁶⁰ "Report of Sir Henry Vere Huntley to the Directors of the Anglo American Gold Mining and Dredging Company", in the *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XII, no. 1, p. 74. Sir Henry urged in his report that the stampers be put in motion by mule power as in the Mexican mines (p. 76). It would lower expenses, since it was cheaper than steam. Another observer remarked that "theirs is the universal familiar process of all rock mining, following the rich veins into the bowels of the earth with pick and powder, crushing the rock and reducing the infinitesimal atoms of metal from the dusty powdered mass" (Bowles, *op. cit.*, p. 424). Italics not in the original.

⁶¹ Cobo, *op. cit.*, II, 375-376.

ceremonial occasions.⁶² The sole domestic animal in North America was the dog, which was used in cargo and draught work. The gallinaceae were quail, grouse, pheasants, and the wild turkey. In North America, the additional species are represented only by the domestic fowl introduced during and after the time of Cortés.⁶³

Into this environment the Spaniards introduced and taught the use of the barnyard fowl, draught animals, cattle, agricultural methods, and seeds. By their continuous contact with the natives they were able to play a great civilizing rôle.⁶⁴ The Indian learned the use of iron and how to hammer silver and copper, and was taught to use gold. For planting, he had now the plow and hoe, the former to be drawn if necessary by oxen: the settled Indian also obtained the saw, auger, and chisel. These new animals—new food and shelter—were taken over:⁶⁵ the horse, cow, pig, sheep, cat, and fowl. The

⁶² The "Relación del Suceso de la Jornada que Francisco Vázquez hizo en el Descubrimiento de Cibola" remarks "que tienen . . . algunas gallinas de las de Méjico, y estas tienen más para la pluma que para comer, porque hacen dellas pellones" (*Col. de Doc. inéd. . . del Archivo de Indias*, XIV, 320). Espejo affirms this by saying "tienen algunas gallinas las cuales guardan para hacer mantas de la pluma" (see A. F. Bandelier, "Final Report of Investigation among the Indians of Southwestern United States", in *Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America, American Series*, Cambridge, 1890, Part I, note p. 157).

⁶³ Ricardo E. Latham, "Los Animales Domésticos de la América Precolombiana" in *Publicaciones del Museo de Etnología y Antropología* (Santiago de Chile, 1922), III, 8.

⁶⁴ Three years after the Indian uprising of 1680 in New Mexico and the ousting of the Spaniards, several Indians entering El Paso del Norte were surprised by the Spanish, and one captive was taken. In his interrogation he swears (Declaración de un Yndio de Nación Picuré que dijo llamarse Juan) that one of the men in his tribe had said: "Que atendiesen como se hallavan destituidos de todo con la falta de los españoles. Porque ya no tenían vacas, ni obejas, ni cauallos, ni cuchillos, ni coas (hoes), ni alesnas (awls), ni ropa, ni bestuario, ni con que dar á un enfermo porque todo lo traían los españoles y que en aquel Rno no lo abía, y bálfa nada de lo podían aprovechar para su bibienda". Describing what the unenlightened did when the Spanish were gone, he says: "Y que en todo el Rno no ai una res vacuna ni cabeza de ganado menor ni los atajuelos que tenían los Indios que todo selo an comido los apóstatos, y que la cauallada y yeguas toda sela á llevado los Apaches, que en el Rno . . . todo está destruido" (Bandelier, *op. cit.*, I, 208).

⁶⁵ "Háseles dado el uso de pan, y vino y aceite y otros muchos mantenimientos: paño, seda, lienzo, caballos, ganado, herraamientos, ya armas, y todo lo demás que

missions, where they found or developed a sedentary culture, taught the raising of fruits and vegetables. The Indians of New Mexico became shepherds and learned to dress in wool instead of cotton or rabbit fur. This varied instruction is a feature of the Spanish attempt to inculcate the elements of Spanish civilization. From the earliest period these attempts bore fruit.⁶⁶

Of all the new elements, only one affected to any large degree both the Indian economy and the white man's history.⁶⁷ This new item was the horse. This animal was a new economic unit—a new means both of transportation and of communication, taken on with an immense profit.⁶⁸ It affected tribal clan and society, ritual, methods, extent of warfare and hunting. Where earlier, intertribal trade had brought no such benefits, Taos, a Pueblo outpost which had been in con-

de España ha habido y enseñado los oficios y artificios con que viven ricamente''. See *Ordenanzas de su Magestad hechas para los Nuevos Descubrimientos Conquistas y Poblaciones*, 1573, in *Col. de Doc. inéd. . . del Archivo de Indias*, XVI, 183.

⁶⁶ The archaeologists who explored the ruins at Pecos (1916) found within several graves, the bones of domestic animals, crockery of Spanish make, together with native implements. Further discoveries (1919) yielded bits of china, iron, and copper of European manufacture (p. 25); and the remains of sheep and horses prove the deposit to have been made in the post-Spanish times. The Spaniards also traded in glass beads, iron tools, china, and objects of European make, so that any site containing no object or animal remains of European (*i.e.*, Spanish) provenance may be pretty safely considered prehistoric. These two tests are applied to all known ruins. See A. V. Kidder, "Papers of the Southwestern Expedition", no. I, in *Phillips Academy Dep't. of Archaeology*, p. 44.

⁶⁷ One of the important sources of the Navajo's wealth is from the sale of their far-famed blankets. Since these blankets are made of wool, and since wool was not available to them until the Spaniards introduced sheep and taught them to card and weave it is not hard to see that the Navajo owe much to their Spanish tutors. One material for the modern Navajo blanket is a Turkish cloth (*vayeta*) originally made in Spain, sold in Mexico as a Spanish flounce and traded to the Indians by the Mexicans. The colors still retain Spanish names: *Morado subido* (violet), *Rosa baja* (dull rose), *Oro*, *Amarillo*, *Tostado*, *Grano*, etc. See G. W. James, *Indian Blankets and Their Makers* (Chicago, 1914), pp. 27, 28. At the time of Coronado, the Navajo were insignificant, and low even in an absolute scale of civilization. See F. W. Hodge, *Early Navajo and Apache* (Washington, 1895).

⁶⁸ A. L. Kroeber, "Native Culture of the Southwest", in *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, XXIII, no. 9, p. 395.

tact with the plains, became plains in material culture and dress. Taos had, with the improved method of communication and the shortening of distance, "absorbed Plains culture to much the degree that Zuñi and Ácoma have absorbed the Spanish Mexican culture".⁶⁹ The introduction of the horse diffused a novel group of associated culture traits, such as saddles and riding-gear, uniform in type for the plains, which are after Spanish patterns. Riding had to be learned and knowledge of the care of horses had to be acquired. In war and hunting, the Comanches and Apaches, as well as other tribes, employed the long spear, developed for use on horseback and probably taken from the Spaniards.⁷⁰ Among the Comanches, young bucks to acquire independence, had to go upon a horse-raiding expedition, often far into Spanish territory. In the same tribe, the horse became the dotal consideration.⁷¹ The Crows farther west, became extraordinary horsemen and breeders of horses, having great herds at their disposal.⁷²

After the arrival of the horse, its knowledge spread far and wide over the plains, northward and across the Mississippi.⁷³ The Spaniards left horses behind which were handed on from tribe to tribe (by trade, theft, and capture). East of the Mississippi, by trade with the Gulf centers of the Spanish, or by contacts with western, horse-stealing tribes,

⁶⁹ Kroeber, *op. cit.*, p. 393.

⁷⁰ Clark Wissler, "Influence of the Horse in the Development of Plains Culture", in *American Anthropologist*, XVI (1914), 18.

⁷¹ A. Debo, "Social and Economic Life of the Comanche", in *Panhandle Plains Historical Review*, III (1930), 43, 45. George Catlin, *North American Indians*, II, 56, describes a Comanche on horseback drawing near his party, who "in his hand drew the reins upon a heavy Spanish bit, plunging into the animal's sides . . . a pair of spurs plundered . . . from the Spaniards". The Indian himself, when addressed, replied in Spanish. Even later than Catlin's time it was still observable that the Comanche was still getting his saddles from the Mexicans. See "Notes sur les Comanches", in *Revue de l'École de l'Anthropologie de Paris* (1908), p. 6. And among the Shoshones Spanish bits, bridles, stirrups, and saddles were not uncommon (Coman, *op. cit.*, I, note p. 391).

⁷² Catlin, *op. cit.*, I, 192.

⁷³ See Wissler, *op. cit.*, p. 6, for the dates and extent of the Indian contact with the horse.

the Indians also obtained Spanish horses, although they could have obtained them later from Virginia.⁷⁴ A tradition of the Chickasaws indicates both whence the horses came to them, and enables us to judge the date of their migration—in post Spanish times. It tells that “the fine breed of running wood horses they brought with them from beyond the Mississippi were the present Mexican or Spanish barbs”.⁷⁵

It has been said that the Apache is more in debt to the occupation of the Spanish than is the Pueblo.⁷⁶ This is clearly described in 1602 by Oñate:

Here some Indians of the nation called Apachi came out with signs of peace. . . . They felt compelled to return, and to come back to our camp with men, women, and children, who ratified (the actions of the others) by raising their hands to the sun as a sign of friendship. We took joyous leave. . . . In some places we came across camps of people of the Apache nation,—nor did any Indian become impertinent.⁷⁷

They are mentioned earlier as readily supplying information.⁷⁸ But when the Apache and Comanche obtained the horse,

⁷⁴ During the sixteenth century and later, Spanish and Moorish barbs were in great demand by English lords and squires to whom they were imported from Spain. These animals were later transported to the American colony of Virginia, as the property of the “cavaliers” of the colony. C. Nocholds, “Notes on the Progenitors of the Modern American Horse”, in *The United States Cavalry Ass'n Journal*, XXII (1911), 437. These Virginia horses were also imported directly from Spain to Virginia (Gray, *op. cit.*, I, 302).

⁷⁵ John Adair, *History of the American Indian* (London, 1775), p. 196. These Chickasaw horses were highly prized by the colonists of the South (Gray, I, 202).

⁷⁶ Bandelier, *op. cit.*, I, 211.

⁷⁷ See H. E. Bolton (ed.), “Relación Verdadera de los Sucesos de la Entrada que hizo el governador D. Juan de Oñate en las poblaciones de Nuevo Méjico hacia el Norte”, “Spanish Explorations in the Southwest, 1542 to 1706”, in *Original Narratives of Early American History* (New York, 1916), pp. 252, 253. This is the journey to the east.

⁷⁸ Castañeda describes the Apache as follows: “se bieron querechos . . . estos dieron gradissima noticia de poblados todo á el oriente de donde nos hallamos. Estos salieron de allí otro día con harrias de perros en que llebaban sus aberes”. See George Parker Winship, “The Coronado Expedition”, 1540-1542, in *Bureau of American Ethnology*, 14th Annual Report, 1892-1893, Washington, 1896, part I, p. 440. The Querechos, say Castañeda, “es gente, amorose (kind), y no cruel, tienen fiel amistad” although they are “hombres de guerra y mas temidos” (Winship, p. 45). Querecho is the Navajo name for the buffalo hunting Apache

making the two tribes rapid coursers over the plains, they began to assume their rôle as enemies of French, Indian, Spanish, and American settlements, limiting white occupation of and passage through the plains. Their influence upon the frontier indicates that something must have happened to alter their conduct. Presumably, it was the introduction of the horse. So far as the Spanish frontier is concerned, the mastery of the horse and firearm made them better equipped than the Spanish soldier.⁷⁹ The frontier attacks of these tribes and their terrorization of the southwest point to their power. New Mexico in 1822 was continually subject to the fear of Indian attack. A state of war was almost constant there. The Comanches might attack as far as Nueva Vizcaya, resembling the Tartars in their rapid incursions on horse.⁸⁰ Nor was the later American frontier safe from such attacks.

West of the Mississippi contacts with the Indian received a great impetus in 1711 when Cadillac, requiring horses and cattle, sent out St. Denis into east Texas. The mission of St. Denis, owing to a shortage of beef and horses in Louisiana, became an important cause of the colonization of Texas by the Spaniards. The economic value of the trade by the In-

of the Plains, adopted by the earlier Spanish explorers. F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of the American Indian North of Mexico* (Washington, 1910), II, 338-339. Querecho is equivalent to the Spanish *vaquero*, and so Benavides called this particular Apache group, "Apaches Vaqueros". They followed the buffalo and Benavides says of these animals that "no es ganado que se deja coger en rodeos", because at that time the Apache did not have any horses upon which to "round up" a herd of buffalo—a method they may have adopted from the Spanish cowboys. See *Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides, 1630* (Chicago, 1916), pp. 151, 153.

⁷⁹ "Hay abundancia de hombres, así Españoles como Indios mui á propósito para la guerra: pero la carencia de armas y caballos los inutiliza". Further, "Los Cumanches . . . no los intimidan las armas de fuego, porque las usan y manejan con mas destreza que sus maestros". The writer points out the ignorance of the New Mexicans of firearms, their defencelessness, that of the southwest in general, and the superiority of the hostile tribes in horses and arms. See Antonio Bonilla, *Apuntes Históricos sobre el Nuevo Méjico*, in Bandelier, *op. cit.*, note p. 217.

⁸⁰ *Idea Estadística y Geográfica del Reyno de Nueva España* (translation from the French by M. B. Guadalajara, 1823). Dogs were still used as draft animals by the Comanches (*ibid.*, pp. 83-84).

dians, French, and English with one another had political weight.

It was rather coincidental that cattle and horses should have been one of the causes in deciding the trend of events in the Southwest. Since that date it is impossible to dissociate them from the history of this part of the continent.⁸¹

For the possession of the horse by the Indian not only moved him to the ranges where he was later to be found by early explorers,⁸² but gave him a terrible weapon with which to resist invaders. It was in addition, an instrument of trade, a new economic and commercial unit, a measure of exchange and of absolute wealth. There was little fur trade for the plains Indians, but they could exchange horses for guns and other valuables. With the uses that the horse was now put to, and the strength both in wealth and power that it brought, the period of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is taken to be the high point of the plains culture.⁸³

But economic and military advantages often are found to coincide. The horse incited predatory warfare which increased the operating range of the tribe, and which in turn lent itself to the intensification of intertribal contacts (alliances) and the quick communication of knowledge and information for attack and defense.

The horse became an important article of exchange with white traders. Since of the plains Indians the traders could demand horses and mules and not furs, the tribes raided the Spanish outposts of the southwest, going into Mexico to satisfy their needs. Horsetealing then became an essential part of their economy.⁸⁴

The Snake (Shoshone) became active carriers of the horse culture to the north and northwest through their raids directly upon the Spanish frontier or upon the Pawnees—themselves great raiders of the New Mexican border, whose importance as horse stealers can be read from the story of the ill-fated expedition of Villasur in 1720. It is at such points that the

⁸¹ Haley, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁸³ Wissler, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

⁸⁴ Wissler, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

economic importance of the horse merges with its political implications which the French (and English) knew full well.

In another field, it is interesting to notice briefly that before and after the American Revolution money values in the states received their bases in terms of Spanish coinage. The Spanish dollar of eight reals was accepted by congress as the monetary unit in 1786. The "piece of eight" was one-eighth of the "peso á real de á ocho".⁸⁵

In the cattle industry, therefore, in the horticultural industries of California and Florida, in the southern economy ruled by a King Cotton, in the tribal and intertribal economy of the Indians, and in other unmentioned fields the presence of Spain in this country has made itself felt by way of wealth utilized by American growers, ranchers, and farmers. Spanish land grants, mining laws, and customs, still compel obedience and have had a full share in the economic history of the South, West, Pacific Coast, and consequently upon the country as a whole, along the lines that it has followed. Laws, methods, teachings, wealth and sources of wealth, and customs, were all left ready for use—and a highly important use they did have—while those who introduced and developed them are unreasonably ignored and even condemned.

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⁸⁵ H. C. Lea, "Spanish Experiments in Coinage", in *Appleton's Popular Science Monthly*, LI (September, 1897), 578. "The ryal is one eighth of a dollar or twelve and one half cents, well known to the older generation, when our silver currency was exclusively Spanish or Mexican, as the 'ninepence' of New England and Virginia; the 'shilling' of New York, and the 'elevenpenny bit' shortened to bit in the West and Southwest. Our 'quarter' was the two ryal piece . . . or peseta". American slang continues to call the two ryal piece (quarter) "two bits".

IXTLILXOCHITL II AND CEMPOALLAN: A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF A MEXICAN PICTURE-CHRONICLE

In 1890, Quaritch published a facsimile of a piece of picture-writing which was discovered about 1846 by Brasseur de Bourbourg, a French priest. Little has been learned of the origin and history of this manuscript. It was done on paper made from the fiber of the maguey leaf. The colors and texture of the manuscript appear to have been excellently reproduced in the facsimile mentioned.

The chronicle gives greatest prominence to Ixtlilxochitl II, the last king of the Tezcucans. The first plate is lacking from my copy of the picture-chronicle but I obtained a photostat of it last year from the library of the British Museum. Although faded, one can discern in it the features of a robust young man holding a *maquiltl*, war club.

Above his head are two mountains with an inscription which appears to read Tzinquiliocan tepetl, which may mean *mountains of Culhoacan* and beneath the hills the words *ne nemi coaxochtli* meaning the "boundary line" (Quaritch).

From internal evidence it seems probable that the original manuscript was made by a Tezcucan scholar under the direction of a Spanish teacher about the year 1530. It consists of thirty-one pages written on sixteen sheets of maguey fiber paper. The Abbe de Bourbourg mentioned the manuscript in his *Bibliothèque Mexico-Guatemalienne*, but gave no information about its history and there seems to have been no attempt made to interpret the manuscript. The variety of subjects incorporated in the pictures may have deterred students from attempting an interpretation.

The figures of the personages are drawn with simplicity; those of buildings and plants are almost crude. The figure of

Ixtlilxochitl is naturally the best specimen of drawing in the manuscript. He appears to have a nobility of bearing and a strength of character in keeping with what historians said of him. In the right hand he holds a war club. There is a complete absence, however, of the elaborate headdress and mantle which characterize the pictures of most of the potentates of Anahuac of that period.

The artist tried to introduce perspective, doubtless under the direction of his Spanish preceptor, but for the most part the pictures stand in horizontal lines across the sheet, and the words are tucked in under and among the pictures.

The females are always seated on the ground, but males, of whatever rank, have a seat on a stool or block. The women have their hair dressed so that it forms two conspicuous knobs on top of the head. The caciques generally wore beards. It seems probable that the pictures were made by a young Tezcucan with little previous experience under the direction of a priest who was trying to teach something of European art. There is little trace of the skill shown in the admirable wall paintings of Tezcuco and Tenochtitlan.

Especially fine is the plate representing the emperor, Ixtlilxochitl I and his wife Matlalcihuatzin, daughter of Montezuma I, whom he married and took to Tezcuco, his capital, in 1367. The delineation of the figures shows more of the vigor of Mexican art than any other plate. The faces and hands are graceful, the lines of their robes are good, the ensemble giving the impression of a harmonious union of strength and beauty.

The man, Ixtlilxochitl II, was one of those figures of history who stand out conspicuously from his fellows. He was a strong link with the feudal life of ancient Mexico and a prominent actor in the new life under European domination. The conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards would have been much more difficult without the allegiance of Ixtlilxochitl II and the assistance of the Tezcucans in the second campaign against the Mexicans. His famous father, Nezahualpilli, ruled long and wisely over Tezcuco, bringing that kingdom

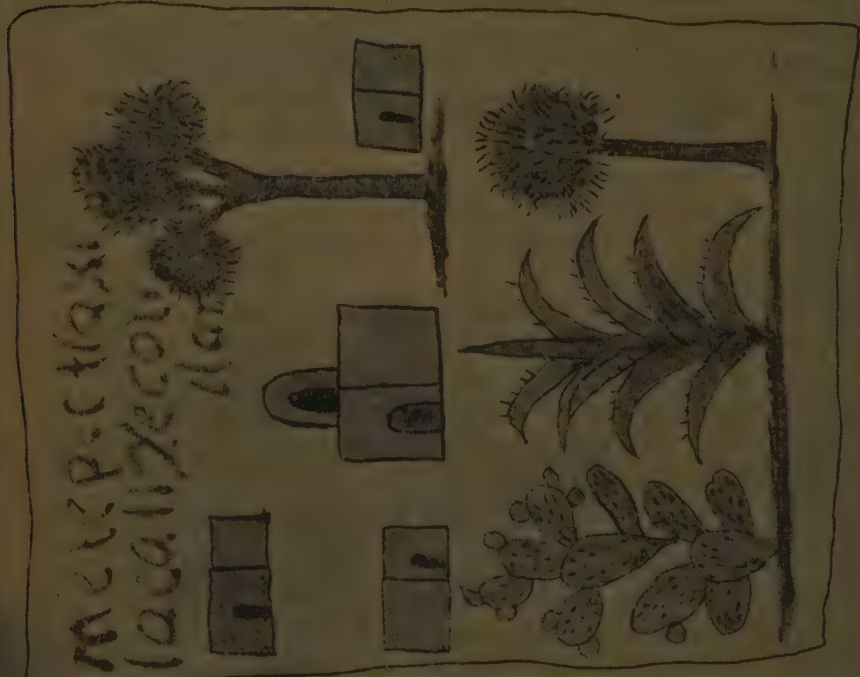


FIGURE 1. Metepec.

(Reproduced from Quaritch's reprint.)

A temple and three houses are shown. Yuccas, Opuntia cactus, and agave are given prominence.

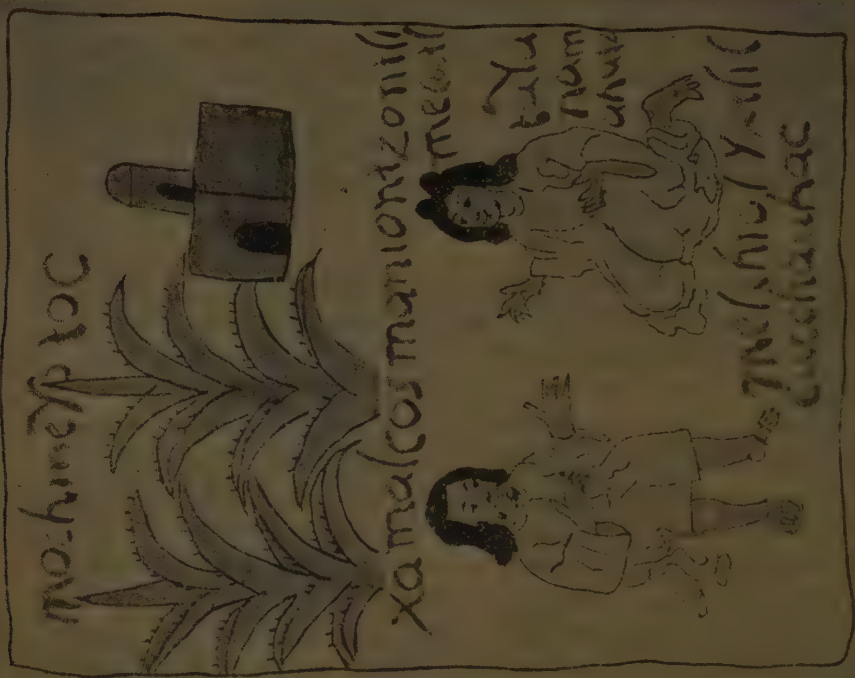


FIGURE 2

(Reproduced from Quaritch's reprint.)

Irtileuechahuac, King of the Toltecs, 8th century (with his wife?) from whom the princes of Tezcuco claimed descent.

to a high level of civilization. King Ixtlilxochitl I, a descendant of the Chichimec kings, was the victim of designs of other kings and had lost in the fourteenth century much of the prestige acquired by his imperious father, Techotl. The records of the Tezcucan dynasty have been so fully discussed by numerous historians that I shall not attempt to elaborate upon them here.

Ixtlilxochitl II appears to have had a love for the arts and amenities of civilized life in contrast to his avaricious kinsmen and royal neighbors. We can understand why his mind was interested in the new race which forced its way into his country, and why he was later to become one of the first kings to give allegiance to the Christian religion. In other times he would have developed a culture worthy of his sagacious father. But forced to live in proximity to ambitious and not too scrupulous monarchs, some of whom were kinsfolk, he was bound to lose his hold on his kingdom. The Spaniards proclaimed him king of Tezeuco in 1521, but it was an empty honor. The piece of picture-writing under consideration possibly may have been presented to Ixtlilxochitl to console him by delineating the nobility of his ancestry and recalling the list of former tribute-paying cities.

The list of cities repays the study one may give them.

Cempoallan (Zenpualan, Sempoalla), was a large, well-built city not far from the site of Vera Cruz. Bernal Díaz said:

As we passed along the houses of the town we were greatly surprised, for a town of such magnitude we had not yet met with. And when we saw that all around had the appearance of a luxurious garden, and that the streets were filled with people of both sexes, we returned most fervent thanks to God for having allowed us to discover such a country.

Cempoallan and contiguous territory had formerly been tributary to the kingdom of Aculhuacan, hence its inclusion in this list of cities which were intended to glorify the erstwhile glories of the dynasty of Ixtlilxochitl. The city had been wrested from Aculhuacan by Montezuma shortly before the

arrival of Cortés and the population was smarting under the lash of the Mexican tribute collectors. Two pages of the picture-writing were devoted in the chronicle to Cempoallan. The first represented the temple as a large square building surrounded by a wall. A tower rose from the roof of the edifice. The artist made a rather unsuccessful attempt to get some perspective into the picture of the temple. He failed rather completely in the second page to show perspective in representing the houses of Cempoallan. Twelve flat-roofed houses in four horizontal rows of three houses each conveyed the idea of a populous, well arranged city.

Tlamapan was depicted on the next page which bore a picture of a temple and six crudely drawn houses. The legend at the top of the sheet refers to mats and ropes which were probably part of the tribute collected.

The next town, Xanatotzin, may have been the capital of a province; at least the sheet devoted to it bore a picture of a stalwart man who may have been the cacique. There were also pictures of a temple and four houses showing doorways, and a cactus of the *Opuntia* type. The people of Mexico then, as now, utilized the fruits of this cactus for food. There was a word *meyotoc* separate from the rest of the inscription which frequently appeared on other sheets. It has puzzled me not a little. The best I can make of it is an abbreviation or colloquial form of *meyolloth* which means "the heart of an agave before it begins to grow up". This large succulent bud of the agave is rich in saccharine substance and is a choice morsel. If it is allowed to grow up a yard or more in height, it can be cut off, and from its stump a rich, sweet sap flows which is collected and fermented to make pulque.

Metepec (figure 1) had two sheets of the picture-chronicle. On the first there were pictures of five and on the second three houses, all but one of which had doorways. There was also a picture of a temple. The brief legends implied that agaves were abundant in this vicinity, an implication which is supported by the name Metepec, meaning "hill (or place) of the agave". Each of the sheets bore a good picture of an agave

as well as an *Opuntia* cactus and some arborescent yuccas. The leaves of the yucca formed the source of raw material for cordage, were used for thatch, and for the weaving of mats (*petatls*). The white, fragrant flowers of yucca were used as food, either fresh or preserved. Some of the early Spanish writers called certain species of the yuccas date palms because they bore edible fruits. This was an error. The date palm was introduced from the old world. The Aztec name of the yucca was *Iczotli* or *Iczotl*, from which the modern name *Isote*, or *Izote*, has been derived. The last word on the second Metepec sheet was *Yecotitlan*, meaning "In the midst of yuccas" or "Where yuccas were abundant". On the first sheet there was a reference in the legend to twelve hundred ropes which bears testimony to the utilization of yucca for cordage. In the second legend the word *tlaxilcali* appeared, probably intended for *tlaxilcalli*, meaning a district of a city or a ward. The implication is not clear.

Totlaçotatzin was named on the next sheet which bore the picture of a plainly dressed man facing the temple. Eight houses with doorways were represented. The sheet was somewhat faded, but it appears that the houses were built on both sides of a street. The next sheet, but one, also related to *Totlaçotatzin*. The upper half bore pictures of agave, yucca, and cactus; the lower a picture of an elderly man and a building which might be either fort or temple.

Tepotzlan was listed on a sheet which bore drawings of seven houses, an agave, and a cactus. Though the place name refers to copper, there was no mention of that metal in the inscription on the sheet. If one be permitted to assume that *tlacpual* of the legend was a contraction of *tlaxipeualli*, then we have *tlaxipeualli mecatl* which means ropes from the bark of a tree. In this connection it seems appropriate to remark that *mecapalli* meant the band which men passed across their foreheads and under the loads which they carried on their backs. In Spanish it is called *mecapal*. The next four sheets are used to depict persons as well as towns.

Coatitlan was represented by a sheet on which there was

a picture of the young Ixtlilxochitl with a woman, presumably a teacher. The youth was seated, but the teacher, as became one of her sex, was kneeling. There were also drawings representing a temple and three houses.

I wish to digress a bit to discuss the significance of the drawings of houses. The fact that a half dozen houses were represented on a sheet does not mean that the town contained only a half dozen houses. They represented the districts or, as one describing an English city would say, parishes of the town, and were called by the Tezcucans *tlaxicalli*.

On the following sheet (figure 2) there are pictures of *Ixtlilcuechahuac*, king of the Toltecs, eighth century, and a woman, presumably his wife. During the reign of this king, which was peaceful and prosperous, the "book of God" (*Teoamoxtli*) was compiled from the Toltec records. This divine book contained an account of many events from the time of the deluge, their religious rites, laws, social customs, knowledge of arts (including agriculture), and sciences, together with their methods of reckoning time. The divine book was compiled by an assembly of wise men under the direction of Hueman, a prophet. The compilation of this book would lend distinction to the reign of any king. The sheet also bore notations on the tribute of Xamalco.

Tecocomulco was noted on the next sheet which also bore the picture of the emperor Tlaltecatzin, grandfather of Ixtlilxochitl. His proper name was Quinantzin. The surname Tlaltecatzin which meant "he who lords the earth" was said to have been given him in recognition of his success in subduing many provinces. The figure of a woman seated on the ground in front of the emperor is said to be Tlahuatzin, of whom I have been able to learn nothing.

The following sheet was devoted to Poyauhtla and bore a picture of the young Ixtlilxochitl and a lady, who was seated, as usual, on the ground in front of her lord, a figure of a handsome young woman. The lettering is so faded that it is difficult to read, but it seems likely that the lady's name was Cihuapilli. No information concerning this lady has been

found. The sheet bore the figures of an agave, a temple, and three houses indicating three *barrios*. The faded letters give the name of the town and say that there was a tribute of 400 ropes.

Tamaliatzinco was represented also by a sheet on which there were figures of a temple, four houses, and an agave. From the lettering it appears that the town was required to furnish 800 war clubs in addition to ropes and hearts of yuccas. This town appears to have been joined to some royal palace (Tecpancalco). Possibly it contained one of the royal residences.

The eleven remaining sheets were much the same as those described. They contained similar pictures of men, temples, houses, and plants, among which the agave was the most frequent. The sheets bore inscriptions similar to those I have discussed. There were the same requirements of ropes and yucca hearts.

The plants mentioned in the tribute lists or depicted by drawings are generally indigenous to Mexico; probably none of them were under cultivation. Many of them were undoubtedly planted then, as now, in the vicinity of habitations.

The agave was a plant of wide distribution, yielding, as already stated, fiber and the saccharine sap which was fermented to produce *pulque* or was evaporated to yield honey or sugar.

Reference to the descriptions of Hernández and other early writers reveals the fact that the Mexicans recognized many kinds of agaves. They designated them by names which terminated in the ending *metl*, meaning agave. Often the names merely indicated the locality in which the agave grew, but frequently they distinguished morphological characters. For example *coztic metl* was a yellow agave; *mexcalmetl* was a small agave found in the mountains of Tepotzlan; *teometl*, the agave of God, was the wine agave; and so forth.

The frequency with which the cactus, *Opuntia*, was shown indicates the importance of that plant. The fruits were eaten either fresh or cooked. The sap pressed from the fleshy

"joints" was administered to persons suffering from illness due to the heat. The *Opuntia* was also esteemed because it was the host of the cochineal insect, the source of one of their important dyestuffs. According to Ximénez the care and rearing of these coccids was a recognized industry. The cactus preferred for this culture was called *Nocheznopalli* or *Nopal nocheztli* (*Opuntia hernandezii* DC.).

The representations of yucca trees have already been mentioned, but I may add that the tribute sheets of several towns were adorned with figures of those trees.

A few lines may be devoted to discussing some of the implications of these tribute sheets in relation especially to the nature of the agricultural products of the province.

It seems evident that the arborescent yuccas were not only abundant, but were cultivated with some system. In other words, there was a yucca culture. They may not have been planted in orchards or gardens, but at least they were planted on the balks around the fields, where their sharp-pointed leaves made a barrier which repelled trespassers.

The figures in the picture-writing afford only a general idea of the species of yuccas which grew in these places. We are therefore compelled to resort to modern botanical studies for ideas on the species which were utilized. *Yucca elephantipes*, Regel, grows in tropical America, especially in Guatemala and Honduras, but has been found in cultivation at Hacienda de Laguna near Jalapa¹ and Costa Rica.² In the vernacular of Vera Cruz, it is "Izote"; in Costa Rica, "Itavo" or "Itabo". The flowers of this plant when used for food are fried with eggs.

Another species which may have been grown in this area is *Y. Trecaleana canaliculata* (Hooker) Trelease. This tree has a simple (or sparingly branched) trunk. The Spaniards called it *Palma de Datiles*, although it is not in any sense a date palm.

It is somewhat puzzling to note that maize is not men-

¹ W. Trelease, "The Yuccae". Rept. 13, Missouri Bot. Garden, 1902.

² O. Porsch, Vegetationsbilder 23. 4/5, 1932.

tioned in this chronicle, although it is evident from the narrative of Bernal Díaz that the plant was grown in this territory and constituted an important food source. I have obtained data on the yields of maize from Señor Ramon C. Armendariz, secretary of the Mexican Chamber of Commerce of Los Angeles, California. He reported that the production of maize in 1931 in the four Mexican states mentioned was as follows: Vera Cruz, 116,425,328 Kg.; Hidalgo, 80,492,210 Kg.; Tlaxcala, 38,927,834 Kg.; and Puebla, 169,916,150 Kg.

The author of this chronicle possibly thought it was unnecessary to mention a crop so universally cultivated as maize in a document which had for its primary purpose the exaltation of the royal family of Tezcuco. Until very recent times the historical writers dealt almost entirely with matters pertaining to monarchs and their military exploits. To them, other things were not regarded as proper matters for discussion in history.

Possibly maize was not subject to levy for the royal tribute, although this seems unlikely. In the tribute lists of Montezuma in the Codex Mendoza, maize was frequently listed. We may be confident that the Tezcucans were also dependent on this foodstuff.

There can be little question that this manuscript found by Brasseur de Bourbourg gives us some first-hand information about the esteem in which the Chichimecan dynasty was held, although the connection with Cempoallan is not so obvious. I have found many of the statements here made to agree with the *Relaciones* written by Don Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, grandson of the last king of the Tezcucans. It is fortunate that this picture-chronicle has escaped the unfortunate fate of so many early Hispano-American records.

If this brief note calls the attention of other students to the existence of records of Cempoallan and surrounding cities it will have served its purpose.

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BOOK REVIEWS

European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies. Edited in Continuation of the Work of the late FRANCES GARDINER DAVENPORT by CHARLES OSCAR PAULLIN. Vol. IV. 1716-1815. (Washington, D. C.: published by Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1937. Pp. viii, 222, index included.)

In this volume, Dr. Paullin has, with admirable skill, completed the work begun many years ago by the lamented Dr. Davenport. The first volume, only, was published during her life; the second, which was, however, her work, appeared posthumously; and the third, most of which also she had prepared before her untimely death, was completed by that dean of historians and editors, Dr. J. F. Jameson, whose death has left a great void.¹

The present volume differs from the other three of the series in that it is confined to the publication of the texts, only, of the pertinent documents. With reference to this departure from one of the chief characteristics of the earlier volumes, the editor modestly says, in his commendably brief preface,

only a scholar having long and full acquaintance with the diplomatic history of Europe could prepare such learned introductions and bibliographies and annotations as those found in the preceding volumes of the series.

Those familiar with Dr. Paullin's other extensive and scholarly contributions, as editor or author of historical publications, would be slow to admit that he is without adequate acquaintance with European diplomatic history to have supplied such scholarly additions had they not been otherwise precluded. Their omission, though of course regrettable, has not seriously impaired the usefulness of the publication and has made possible the compression of the 96 pertinent documents of this volume into only 210 pages—compared with the 40 documents in 366 pages of the first volume or with the 107 documents in the first three volumes.

¹ Reviews by the present reviewer, of the earlier first and third volumes, will be found, respectively, in issues of this REVIEW, as follows: February, 1919, II, 72; and August, 1935, XV, 359. A review of the second volume is in the issue for February 30, 1930.

The most surprising characteristic of the entire publication is that so many treaties between European nations had an important bearing on the history of America. Every one of the 203 texts casts an interesting light on some phase of American history. Selecting five, for example, from the present volume: in No. 134, of October 25, 1743, France and Spain agree to require England to withdraw from Georgia "since the security of Florida (*i.e.*, to Spain) cannot be assured as long as the new colony of Georgia is allowed to exist"; in No. 145, of August 15, 1761, the famous "family compact", France and Spain guarantee to each other, "in the most absolute manner, all the states, lands, islands and places which they possess in any part of the earth"; No. 157, dated January 15, 1776, between Great Britain and Hesse-Cassel, provides for subsidizing Hessian troops to serve in the British army; and No. 178, of October 28, 1790, and No. 182, of January 11, 1794, between Great Britain and Spain are the famous Nootka Sound conventions.

As in the earlier volumes, each treaty is published in the original language or languages. Unless the original language, or one of the originals, was French, an English translation is supplied, on the assumption that any student interested enough to consult the texts of treaties would be able to read French. Nearly all of the texts are, therefore, in French, but some are in English, and a few are in Spanish or some other language.

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Social Aspects of the Banana Industry. By CHARLES DAVID KEPNER, JR. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936. Pp. 230. \$3.00.)

This is the second volume in which Mr. Kepner has turned his attention to the tropical fruit industry. The first, *The Banana Empire*, was primarily a study of the growth of the United Fruit Company and its relations to the governments among which its activities lie. In this later study, he analyzes the influences of the industry upon the lives of the peoples touched by commercial production of tropical fruits.

Not a few benefits are found to have been brought them. Jungles have been turned to economic usefulness, there has been fair progress in making tropical lowlands habitable, railroads have been made pos-

sible by the creation of banana freights, steamship lines have put these undeveloped areas into closer contact with the outside world.

On balance, however, the author finds more features in the social life of the banana lands which deserve criticism than praise. The governments are, except in Mexico and Jamaica, so weak that the relations between them and the great corporations which exploit the fruit trade are distorted. The social legislation which they seek to pass fails of adoption or is of irregular enforcement. Land grants are made in ways intended to promote homesteading and railway building but fail of their purpose. After comparatively few years the banana settlements decline because of failure of the soils. There is very inadequate legislation to insure against unemployment, the penury of old age, sickness, industrial accidents, and the other phases of social insecurity.

That all these deficiencies exist in the American tropics and that all are to be regretted, all students of the region will agree. Whether in the banana areas they are caused by the fruit company activities to the degree the author believes, is not so clear nor is it plain that change in the policy of the companies could alone radically alter conditions. Independent governments in the tropics the world around are typically weak. Local capital has been available in such small amounts that they welcome the entry of foreign enterprises but are jealous of the "tribute" which must be paid in profits. It is not to be wondered at that, under such circumstances, abuses by and against the foreign corporations arise.

Endemic diseases, floating populations, and land exhaustion, all create real problems. But to a greater degree the circumstances of life in the American tropics are the result of land, climate, population, and governmental problems underlying all industries whether they be local or foreign enterprises.

The author feels that the primary needs are for higher wage rates, extension of hospital services and general health work, more education and training in the use of leisure, encouragement by the employer of coöperatives and unions among the employed, and coöperation with the local governments. One need not disagree on any of these points and still feel that the improvement of social conditions depends in the long run on the success which may be achieved in more fundamental lines, in the triumphs of science in modifying the conditions of tropical life, in the success of local governments in broadening the bases upon which they rest, and in increasing their efficiency and finally

upon what the local populations can do to vary their activities and create for themselves a better standard of life.

CHESTER LLOYD JONES.

University of Wisconsin.

The United States and the Disruption of the Spanish Empire, 1810-1822. A Study of the Relations of the United States with Spain and with the Rebel Spanish Colonies. By CHARLES CARROLL GRIFFIN. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1937. Pp. 315. \$3.75.)

This volume is the result of an examination of a vast mass of manuscripts in Spanish, French, and English archives, the Department of State, the Library of Congress, and elsewhere, supplemented by printed sources and secondary works. The extent of the materials used is indicated by the great number of footnotes—a book with 273 pages of text and 1,145 footnotes. Two introductory chapters, one dealing with the general relations of the United States and Spain and the other with the attitude of the United States toward the revolutionary movement in Spanish America, give the background of the story covering the years from 1810 to 1815. The next three chapters cover the years 1815 to 1818, treating phases of the relations of the two countries in connection with the Spanish American wars of independence. The policies of the nations with respect to one another, the question of neutrality, and the problem of recognition are discussed. Three additional chapters deal with the Florida crisis and the negotiation of the Adams-Onís Treaty. The diplomacy and issues involved in drafting the treaty, the failure of Spain to ratify, and the steps leading to final ratification are presented. Another chapter treats the recognition of Spanish American independence by the United States. These brief chapters set forth the diverse factors of the relations. In Spain, internal politics, personal ambitions, ardent desires to maintain the colonial empire, and intense pride motivated the actions. In the United States, desire for territorial expansion and commercial intercourse, boundary difficulties, and political ideas with reference to independence and democracy influenced the decision of the government. Further, there was the constant demand of the colonies for recognition and their tendency to look to the United States for aid and political ideas, facts which appealed to many citizens and leaders of the United States. It is a story which began in obstinacy, moved to a period of inaction, and then,

through a more conciliatory policy on both sides, resulted in the solution of the problems. In general, the work is a factual treatment, and the chapters noted above contain little of summation. The final chapter, the best of the volume, is, however, a terse and excellent summary of the results of the study.

An extended classified bibliography is given. The items from each archive are set down, but it is noted that no use was made of the "Papeles Procedentes de Cuba" or other collections in the Archivo General de Indias. Other sections of the bibliography list contemporary newspapers, diaries, memoirs and correspondence, documentary collections, miscellaneous primary sources and secondary works, as well as articles from periodicals. It is observed that the titles entered in the bibliography do not always agree with those in the footnotes and that there are discrepancies as to dates and places of publication between the entries of this volume and those in Bemis and Griffin, *Guide to the Diplomatic History of the United States*. The omission of *Observations on the Conduct of the Executive toward Spain in the Affair of West Florida* by Verus (1815) indicates that a complete listing of the writings of Luis de Onís would have been an addition to the work. The author too consistently refers to persons by surname only. The task of locating Mr. "Smith of Maryland" among the ninety-seven Smiths who appear in the *Biographical Directory of the American Congress* and deciding which one he is from among the four from Maryland, let alone trying to find him among the one hundred and fifty-one Smiths in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, is one that should not be encountered in a scholarly work such as this one. It is not clear why the author refers to Robert Seldon Garnett of Virginia, a quite well known gentleman of the time, as "one Garnett who came into momentary notoriety by his single handed opposition" and then identifies him in the index as Mr. Garnett "a representative from Pennsylvania". Dr. Griffin is to be congratulated, nevertheless, on presenting a readable and brief survey of a very interesting series of events in the relations of the United States and Spain.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

The National Archives.

Cuba and the United States 1900-1935. By RUSSEL H. FITZGIBBON (Menasha, Wisconsin: The Collegiate Press, George Banta Publishing Company, [c 1935]. Pp. xi, 311. Bibliography. Index.)

Since 1925, some nine books dealing with various phases of Cuban history have been written by citizens of the United States. In his preface, Dr. Fitzgibbon, who is professor of history and political science at Hanover College,¹ offers the following reasons for the publication of "another book" on Cuba: first, the conviction "... that the periods of most intimate contact between the United States and Cuba have been largely neglected by most students"; second, a desire to make a contribution "... by attempting a unified, objective, and scientific study of the whole of Cuban-American relations during the past third of a century"; and third, the need for "... a dispassionate attempt to survey and appraise ... the shifting American policy toward Cuba [which] has been described as the touchstone of our entire Caribbean policy. ...". Any one of these three reasons would have justified the publication of this well written and scholarly monograph. The reviewer is of the opinion that the author has justified his work on all three grounds.

Dr. Fitzgibbon, after discussing the background of United States interest, traces in a straightforward manner the diplomatic and economic relations between Cuba and the United States from 1900 to 1935. The date 1900 was selected as a starting point because the year 1899 was "... chiefly one of liquidating the immediate problems of the war. It was not really until 1900 ... that the constructive period of intervention began". All of the leading actors from Wood and Estrada Palma to Caffery and Mendieta are treated chronologically along with such matters as tariff, sugar, concessions, and loans. The first and second interventions are ably summarized. Wood is praised as one of the "greatest colonial administrators in history", and it is the author's opinion that the Magoon administration "was by no means a discreditable phase of Cuban-American relations". The Platt Amendment, which the author contends should have been called the Root Amendment, supplies the political theme of the work. The various interpretations of this amendment and its application by the United States are analyzed as to causes and results. Dr. Fitzgibbon agrees with the thesis that Cuba under the Platt Amendment was a protectorate of the United States and that it did not gain full sovereignty until the abrogation of that amendment in 1934. He notes that professional Cuban politicians, who privately admitted the merits

¹ Now at the University of California at Los Angeles.

of the amendment but publicly denounced it, bemoan the loss of a vote-getting issue, but he concludes that its abrogation should improve the relations between the two republics.

The most commendable feature of this work is the impersonal and objective viewpoint of the author. Both Cubans and citizens of the United States, their motives and accomplishments, are dispassionately praised and criticized. The activities of Wall Street bankers, not always above reproach, are discussed along with the benefits to Cuba resulting from the inpouring of millions of dollars of foreign capital. Although the United States is taken to task for its "preventive policy" of intermeddling, it is the contention of the author that the guiding hand of Uncle Sam has been more of a blessing than an evil. The Cuban masses are criticized for their political apathy and the graft of some of their leaders is justly denounced. Lastly, the reciprocity treaty of 1934, which has been praised in both countries, is criticized because its whole implication "... is to cement more firmly the monoculture character of Cuban economy".

This reviewer has nothing but praise for the way the author has handled his facts, but some of the interpretations and conclusions are open to question. It would seem that, in view of the avowed purpose of the United States to prepare the Cubans for self-government, General Brooke is entitled to praise rather than criticism for using many Cuban subordinates. The reasons for, and the political consequences of, the withdrawal of Bartolomé Masó as a presidential candidate against Estrada Palma might have been discussed more fully. Magoon, as Law Officer of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, was more than a "law clerk", and in view of his successful record in Washington in solving knotty colonial legal problems to the satisfaction of Elihu Root and his success as minister and governor in Panama, which had previously been the graveyard of reputations, it is doubtful if his appointment as *civil* governor of Cuba can be described as an "unwise choice". Also, one can question the statement that "... it seems to be desirable that Cuba undergo the sort of social revolution which Mexico has been experiencing in the past quarter of a century".

This well documented work contains a map of Cuba, an adequate index, and useful appendices, and it is unusually free from mechanical errors. The bibliography is full and many of the more important titles are followed by critical notes. Perhaps more use might have been made of evidence from living witnesses and that special dispensation might have been secured to utilize the Roosevelt, Taft,

Root, and Crowder papers. Unfortunately for the author, State Department files since August 15, 1906, were closed, and the papers of such men as Wood and Mendéz Capote are under strict seal. Also to be regretted is the fact that most of Magoon's papers were destroyed after his death.

Dr. Fitzgibbon's work is the best that has yet appeared on this subject and it will take its place as one of the leading books on contemporary Cuban history. A work dealing with events since 1900 cannot be definitive, of course, but students of Hispanic American history should be grateful for this excellent monograph.

DAVID A. LOCKMILLER.

North Carolina State College,
Raleigh, N. C.

Cuban Sideshow. By R. HART PHILLIPS. (Havana: Cuban Press, 1935. Pp. 318. \$2.25.)

This poorly written and poorly printed book, containing some truthful facts and many mistakes, is the work of the wife of a correspondent for the *New York Times* in Havana, during the days of the Machado dictatorship and its aftermath. Notwithstanding their status as citizens of the United States, Mr. and Mrs. Phillips, as the latter acknowledges, have taken an active part in Cuban politics during the last few years, and if much of that interest can be detected, from time to time, in the inaccuracies of Cuban news published by the *Times*, it is very natural that it should also appear in the pages of this book.

Mrs. Phillips is a Texan who thinks that the United States ought "to civilize" Cuba and teach the Cubans how to be perfect citizens by keeping complete control of their country. She is frank in that, although she does not say anything about the various discredited political systems to be found even in the United States.

The most extraordinary contradictions are found in this book, as well as a curious mixture of real facts and distorted information and poor guesses, upon which Mrs. Phillips establishes her groundless assertions and reaches her amazing conclusions. In consequence, the impartial reader wonders whether the writer of such a book has any real idea of responsibility or any serious consciousness of what writing for the public is.

Carleton Beals, in a review of *Cuban Sideshow* which appeared in *The New Republic*, pointed out the contradiction existing between the

assertion of Mrs. Phillips on page 7, namely: "I make no claim to understand the Cuban people", and her efforts to convince the reader that she understands them. That is one of the amusing characteristics of this petty piece of contemporary history. If that is amusing, her slandering the memory of Enrique José Varona after an elusive "I am told he was . . .", is most worthy of condemnation (pp. 222-223).

I find myself slandered on page 230 because I accepted appointment as delegate to Montevideo to represent the government in power in Cuba when the Seventh International Conference of American States met, in 1933. She calls me, as well as all the other delegates, "radical and rabid against the United States"—an unworthy charge that can not be sustained. Mrs. Phillips cannot forgive the Cuban delegation to Montevideo for having pressed and obtained the Convention on Duties and Rights of States proscribing intervention. She cannot forgive Secretary Hull because he accepted that convention in good faith. She cannot forgive the Cuban Government which made it possible, through its appointment of that delegation, to achieve that result. Those men and women, of whom she talks in such disparaging terms, even when alluding to the present secretary of state, are the ones who will secure for the United States the sincere affection of the Hispanic American countries, by respecting them and treating them justly.

Cuban Sideshow, jingoistic, partial, contemptuous, and misleading, very well reveals how harmful it is to write with passion and hatred about the relations between two peoples. The "facts" in her work are only too often obscured by her interpretation of them.

HERMINIO PORTELL VILÁ.

Black Mountain College, N. C.

La Fundación y Despoblación de Buenos Aires, 1536-1541. By JOSÉ TORRE REVELLO. (Buenos Aires: Casa Editora: Librería "Cervantes" Julio Suárez, Lavalle, 558, 1937.) Pp. 206.

Recent years have been productive of a plethora of publications in honor of centennials and especially *cuartos centenarios* of significant events in Hispanic American history and much new and valuable material has thus been placed at the disposal of the scholar and the lay reader alike. Designed to appeal to the latter public particularly is the work under review, the most recent of the prolific Argentine his-

torian, Torre Revello, but since it is the work of one who has spent seventeen years in the Archives of the Indies at Seville, the scholar can not dismiss it as merely an effort to exploit a national anniversary. This volume is, in reality, a collection of historical essays based on long familiarity with source materials; the first and longest which gives title to the work retells a now familiar story of Pedro de Mendoza's disillusioning expedition to the Río de la Plata region and the first founding of Buenos Aires. But the well known outline of this unhappy venture is filled in with certain details taken from documents discovered by the author and these add much to the narrative. We are told very frankly that Mendoza's last, lingering illness which kept him confined to his cabin was an advanced case of syphilis; but more interesting, perhaps, is the information on the manner in which the disease-ridden *conquistador* whiled away many of his last hours. Among his personal baggage brought from Spain was a small number of books which included not only the well known classics of Vergil but also the *Coloquios* and the *Elogio de la locura* of that philosopher of Rotterdam whose name later became anathema in Spanish ecclesiastical eyes, Erasmus. This fact conjures up the strange picture of a harsh man of action meditating upon the thoughts of the great reformer. These and other details recorded make this more popularized version of Mendoza's expedition of interest to scholars as well as general readers.

The other essays included are all related to the first founding of Buenos Aires and their contents may be deduced from their titles, which are: *El origen del nombre de la ciudad de Buenos Aires*; *Don Pedro de Mendoza*; *Fundación y desamparo de Corpus Christi*; *El trágico fin de Juan de Ayolas*; *El clérigo Luis de Miranda de Villafaña*; and *Antonio Tomás*; *El conquistador que asistió a las dos fundaciones de Buenos Aires*.

Though omitting the customary meaty footnotes that accompany most of his writings, the author does not neglect to follow his usual habit of appending valuable documents and with the present volume there are three: *Instrucciones dejadas por don Pedro de Mendoza a Francisco Ruiz Galán*, *Instrucciones dejadas por don Pedro de Mendoza a su lugarteniente Juan de Ayolas*, and a *Romance escrito por el clérigo Luis de Miranda de Villafaña sobre la conquista del Río de la Plata*. A brief bibliography of printed sources and general works utilized is also attached. Attractively printed, sound in scholarship,

and well written, this book achieves its purpose of appealing to the larger audience for which it is intended.

IRVING A. LEONARD.

Rockefeller Foundation,
New York.

A History of Historical Writing. By HARRY ELMER BARNES. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1937. Pp. XIV, 434. \$3.50.)

When one assays the task of compiling a history of historical writing, one should first of all undertake a careful study of the sources about which one writes, otherwise the task must be done again. Without criticising Professor Barnes's volume as a whole, the reviewer may perhaps be pardoned for concentrating his remarks upon the portions of the book, all too brief, dealing with writers about Hispanic America. As so many modern historians have done before him, Professor Barnes virtually neglects the field of Hispanic American historiography. There is no hint, either in the table of contents or in the index, that the author knows that Hispanic America exists or that it has had any historians. It is true that he speaks of a few early Spanish writers and fewer early Portuguese historians, but his knowledge like his interest is confined to other parts of the world.

In a small portion of Chapter VII (pages 139 to 143), Professor Barnes treats among other topics "The general influence of the expansion of Europe on historical writing". This section is unbelievably filled with mistakes and misinformation and is characterized by haste and an indifference to facts which is indeed surprising. His consistently inconsistent use of accents on proper names is weird and exotic while his hybridization of English and Italian in the spelling of Peter Martyr's name seems indicative of unfamiliarity with the subject. This Italian author is the first writer on America dealt with, but his birth is given as 1487, a mistake of perhaps thirty years. It was not in 1510 but in 1520 that Martyr was appointed by Charles V to be chronicler of the Council of the Indies. His work is cited as *Decades of the New World* but no indication is given of the language of the work, or of the date and place of publication, all of which facts should be of importance to the student of the history of historical writing. Besides, scholars more familiar with this author would rate his ability and contributions somewhat differently.

The next author mentioned is Oviedo whose work is cited by an English title with no indication of dates and places of publication.

The evaluation of this writer, however, is more accurate than that of Peter Martyr.

The works of Las Casas are mentioned as the *Apologetic History of the Indies* and the *History of the Indies* with no really vital information concerning them, while the author is likened to William Lloyd Garrison. Apparently, the *Brevísima Relación* is as unknown to Professor Barnes as is the location of Cumaná (spelled without an accent)—p. 140.

Gómara, with a misplaced accent whenever used, is the author of the *General History of the Indies*, but the full title and scope of the work are not indicated and bibliographical information is lacking. The calling of Gómara the "ablest historian of this school" will be questioned by all who have examined the writings of this author.

Bernal Díaz del Castillo receives better but briefer treatment than his contemporaries, yet Professor Barnes uses the English title of Díaz's work with no bibliographical information and with no indication that the earlier printings of the work were based upon a faulty manuscript. Historians are advised that Díaz's account "deserves more attention and credit than has hitherto been bestowed upon it".

Herrera's work is briefly mentioned and wrongly cited as the *General History of the West Indies*, with no bibliographical facts attached. The work is also unfortunately compared with Antonio de Solís's *The Conquest of Mexico*.

Garcilaso de la Vega, with the wrong year given for his birth, is called the author of the *Commentaries on the Incas* which is characterized as an "almost worthless picture of the Incas". *La Florida del Inca*, more subject to criticism, seems to have been unknown to Professor Barnes as was the *Historia general de Perú* and all pertinent bibliographical information about the works.

The sole Portuguese author mentioned in this section is João (here spelled Jaõ) le Barros, the "Portuguese Livy", who is credited with being the author of *Portuguese Asia* wrongly dated as to publication. In the next paragraph the reader is informed that the "first considerable work on the development of the Portuguese colony in Brazil was the gigantic *History of Brazil*" by Robert Southey. In this easy manner are disposed of more than two centuries of Portuguese and Brazilian historical writings.

In a work such as this pretends to be it might well be asked what has become of José de Acosta, Girolamo Benzoni, López de Velasco, Pedro de Magalhães, Gerónimo de Mendieta, Bernardo Sahagún,

Agustín de Zárate, Cieza de León, and many others of that goodly company who made their names immortal in the field of Hispanic American historiography of the sixteenth century. And after the sixteenth came other centuries!

The next mention of Hispanic American writers appears in one paragraph on pages 235 and 236. Writing of collectors of sources, Professor Barnes mentions inaccurately "Jose Medina" and "M. O. y Berra". In the same place "patriotic" historians listed are Diego Barros Arana, Francisco García Calderón, Navarro y Lamarca, [Vicente Fidel] López, and [Sebastián] Lorente.

But judging a book by one of its sections alone is patently unfair, and the reviewer makes no pretense here to criticise or commend the work as a whole, although it appears from a cursory examination to be a fair synthesis. The reviewer's criticism, however, concerns the indifference of historians who can see only Europe and a part of the American continent in a bright light but who view Hispanic America through a glass darkly. Writers attempting a world-wide treatment of an historical subject who are unfamiliar with so important a section of the western hemisphere as is Hispanic America would do well either to seek expert advice or attempt to familiarize themselves directly with the information which they need. Otherwise, students, judging a book by its author's previous reputation, may be badly led astray in their search for accurate knowledge.

A. CURTIS WILGUS.

The George Washington University.

Our Catholic Heritage in Texas 1519-1936. The Mission Era: The Finding of Texas 1519-1693, Vol. I and *The Mission Era: The Winning of Texas 1693-1731*, Vol. II. By CARLOS E. CASTAÑEDA. Edited by PAUL J. FOIK, C.S.C. (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones Co., 1936. Pp. 444 and 390. Illustrations 8 and 8. Map. \$5.00 per volume.)

These two volumes, the first two of a projected seven, were sponsored by the Knights of Columbus of Texas and edited by Dr. Paul Foik, C.S.C., while the research work and actual writing were carried on by Dr. Carlos Castañeda. The general title, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas*, is a little misleading and might give the impression that these excellent and scholarly volumes were written with regard to a single viewpoint, while as a matter of fact, they contain a complete and rounded-out history of early Texas from 1519 to 1731.

Texas, the largest state in the Union, offers many avenues of

approach to the historian. The distance from El Paso to Houston and from Amarillo to Corpus Christi, alone suffices to show, that in its early history especially, Texas must be considered in relation to other areas. There was naturally the close link with the viceroyalty of New Spain of which it formed a part. The El Paso district was intimately bound up with the fortunes of New Mexico. San Antonio and the east recall French invasion and settlement. All this Dr. Castañeda has linked up admirably. In fact, in these volumes, the connected history of Texas is related for the first time. Owing to the vast amount of material at the author's disposal, he was able to show that up to the year 1731, ninety-two expeditions were undertaken by the Spaniards for the conquest and colonization of Texas, while during the same era more than fifty missions, at once outposts of empire and centers of civilization were established by the zealous and industrious Franciscans.

Volume II, in particular, presents much new material covering the years 1694-1714, which years historians have alluded to, generally, as the "silent years" of Texas history. The author assigns Gran Quivira, concerning which so much has been written, to the Panhandle of Texas, rather than to Kansas. The shipwreck of Dominican friars, which Lowery includes in his history of early Florida, is placed along the coast of Texas.

The narrative of this early history is not only consecutive but well-balanced. The development of the great chain of missions is placed in its international setting while the Church-State relations are amply unfolded. The work gives evidence of the author's understanding of the purposes and activities of the friars in their mission fields, joined with a correct use of ecclesiastical terminology. The style is clear, unadorned, and objective, as is befitting a work of such proportions and industry.

There are forty-three pages of bibliography, most of which covers manuscript sources. The sixty-two pages of lucid analytical index are deserving of high praise. Each volume contains a large map of Texas showing routes of exploration and mission sites. The dignified sketches concerning Indian and missionary life are in keeping with the general tone of the history. Students of the Spanish borderlands and of Texas in particular can not dispense with these volumes in the scientific pursuit of borderland history and they will await with eagerness the appearance of the other five projected volumes.

MAYNARD GEIGER, O.F.M.

Old Mission, Santa Barbara, Calif.

Historia del Ecuador. By ROBERTO ANDRADE. In fascicules. Six published to date. (Guayaquil: Reed y Reed, Editores. 1936. Pp. 2382.)

The history of Ecuador of Roberto Andrade has been appearing in Guayaquil for some months in the form of "*entregas*" which are issued every two weeks. The total number is to be some seventy, of which sixty have already been published. The work on completion will consist of seven volumes. Hence the extraordinary number of pages indicated above.

This history has long been in the process of creation. Roberto Andrade is the sole survivor of the group which was responsible for the assassination of Gabriel García Moreno on the historic sixth of August, 1875. A man of remarkable vigor for his advanced age, Andrade has devoted a long and checkered life to the task of discrediting García Moreno and by the same token of immortalizing Juan Montalvo. This self-imposed duty of patriotism has led to the issuance of what may be termed the definitive history of Ecuador from the very particular point of view of the "liberals" of that republic. This new history follows the line of thought developed by Pedro Moncayo, Pedro Carbo, and the other spokesmen of the anti-clerical sector of Ecuadorean public opinion.

It is extremely unfortunate that the republican history of Ecuador has been so mutilated by partisans as to be virtually unrecognizable in the writings of many who pass for first-rate historians. Pedro Moncayo in his day wrote the history of Ecuador from 1825 to 1875 from memory with the natural errors and omissions which this method implies. It is not too much to assert that in approaching every Ecuadorean historian of the period since independence, the question must be asked, "Was he friend or enemy of García Moreno"? Historical scholars have divided into factions over the disputed personality of the great dictator. Andrade has long been in the vanguard of those bitterly hostile to García Moreno. His mission in life has been the construction of the blackest legend conceivable regarding the clerical president. The consequence is a distorted history, marred by unbelievable reliance on flimsy evidence; gross manipulation of the facts, and often the most unreasonable conclusions from the facts suggested. *Parti pris* is the most distinguishing feature from beginning to end. Nevertheless, the work has been published through the good offices of many citizens in Guayaquil, who see in the issuance of this type of history a bit of effective propaganda. The cause of historical scholarship is injured by this political pamphleteering.

The sixty fascicules issued to date shed no new light on Ecuador from the late colonial epoch to 1830. The sources used with greatest frequency are two: Pedro Fermín Cevallos and Federico González Suárez. The first is, of course, the principal historian of Ecuador during the past century, while the second is possibly the finest historian the republic has yet produced. These two authorities serve as the framework into which is worked the particular prejudices and pre-formulated notions of the author. The evils of clericalism, the corruption of the monasteries, the virtues of Bolívar and the vices of Juan José Flores—these are the dominant notes in this exceedingly long piece of work. Andrade discovers no good in Flores—only unmitigated evil, guilt, and passion. Rocafuerte on the other hand is all light and purity and good. There is no hint of *claroscuro*—for the tones are inevitably violent.

This work must be considered in the light of the reality of Ecuador. There are not so many Ecuadorean historians who are above the crassest adulation or the most unbridled denunciation. Competent and objective writers as Julio Tobar Donoso, Alejandro Andrade Coello, Carlos A. Rolando, José María Le Gouhir and others are few. The primary obstacle for the uninitiated student of Ecuadorean history is the fact that many works in this field must be read with the refutation at hand. Note for example the biography of García Moreno of Berthe and the reply of Antonio Borrero. Both must be read together. In the case of Moncayo, there also was a reply by Cevallos. This makes the process of arriving at a fairly honest conclusion incredibly arduous. The work of Andrade is important for it culminates this trend and accentuates it. The truth is that the history of republican Ecuador has yet to be written. The closest approach is in the *Historia de la República del Ecuador* by Le Gouhir and the shorter *Historia del Ecuador* by Oscar Efren Reyes.

RICHARD PATTEE.

University of Puerto Rico.

Americana: Comunismo Incaico—Araucania—Florida—Colombiana.

By BENEDETTO GIACALONE. (Genoa: Libreria M. Bozzi Succ. Lattes, 1936. Pp. 199. 15 Lire.)

So little dealing with Hispanic America comes out of Italy that the contributions of the productive Benedetto Giacalone are welcome. Four works of special interest to American scholars have come from his pen, namely, *La civiltà degli Incas* (Genoa, 1933), *Gli Aztechi* (Genoa, 1934), *Amenità di cronisti post-colombiani* (Buenos Aires, 1935), and *I Maja* (Genoa, 1935). These are all substantial volumes,

distinguished by a brilliant style and concise organization. Much of the work of Giacalone has been done in Buenos Aires where he has labored intellectually among the Italian-speaking elements of the Argentine capital.

The present volume is dedicated to the memory of the Duke of Veragua, last descendant of Columbus. The dedication gives the tone of the work in a certain sense. Throughout, there is a strong sense of *italianità*, a good bit of fascist propaganda, and even a vigorous denunciation of the League of Nations. These aspects would appear far removed from the material announced in the title. Dr. Giacalone manages to introduce extraneous matter in the most curious way. The first chapter called Inca Communism was originally a lecture delivered in Rome in 1935 before one of the many fascist cultural institutes. Provided with notes and corrections, the lecture emerges as the opening chapter of this not very closely knit book on early American history. The study of Incaic communal society is an excellent summary of the matter. Dr. Giacalone depends in all his works on much direct quotation from the early Spanish writers, although his bibliographies in general reveal a good knowledge of modern contributions. The second and third chapters treat of Chile and Florida. The fourth and last is perhaps the most interesting of all. This also grew out of a lecture given in Buenos Aires before the *Associazione argentina Progenie d'Italia*, in late September, of 1935. Coinciding with the beginning of the application of sanctions against Italy and in view of the fact that the lecture on Columbus was presented before the Italians of Buenos Aires, the preliminary considerations of the chapter are understandable. The author makes no pretention of originality. He observes in his opening remarks that it would be presumptuous to undertake to say anything new concerning the Genovese navigator—that those who deal with the new concerning Columbus, very frequently are dealing with the false. This pitfall is to be avoided, and a resumé only is attempted. The result is the best chapter in the book—succinct, admirably clear, balanced, and devoid of bias. For the general reader the impression would be better if the initial patriotic note were avoided. This book is written, however, for Italians and this must be considered in reading it.

There is no index or bibliography. The bibliographical notes which constitute the basis of Dr. Giacalone's writings are to be found in his two volumes touching on the Maya and Aztec cultures.

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Vida y Costumbres de los Indígenas Araucanos en la Segunda Mitad del Siglo XIX. By P. ERNESTO WILHELM DE MOESBACH. Prologue, revision, and notes by DR. RUDOLFO LENZ. (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Universitaria, 1936. Pp. 464.)

Despite the fact that the Araucanian Indian is present in highly respectable and constantly increasing numbers in modern Chilean society, in general little is known either of his early culture or of the gradual transformation of that culture and of its present state. For this reason this book is of singular value.

It is the life story of the Araucanian Indian, Pascual Coña, as told to a missionary. Telling the story of his own life, Pascual Coña tells, as well, the manners, customs, and beliefs of his people. And he also tells of the changes occurring in that Indian culture. Such topics are discussed as Indian family relationships, agriculture, games, and religious beliefs; the geography of the Indian territory is described in detail.

The resultant book is highly interesting in content; it is fascinating in the mingled naïveté and sophistication of its style. Re-edited by Dr. Lenz and printed in parallel columns in Spanish and Mapuche, it is a work of great value to the linguist. It is of value, as well, to the geographer, the ethnographer, the sociologist, and it definitely belongs in the private library of every student of Chilean history.

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Santa Anna y la Guerra de Texas. By JOSÉ C. VALADÉS. (México: Imprenta Mundial, 1936. Pp. 315. 3 pesos.)

This interesting work merits much praise. It is a well executed study of the background, the fighting, and the aftermath of the war between Mexico and Texas. The treatment is sober, searching, thorough, and fair.

After an opening chapter on the last days and death of Santa Anna in 1876, the author takes up from both sides the background of this historically important struggle. Santa Anna's career is traced from his entry into the military life in 1810 to the time of his march to Texas in 1835, while the story of the American colonists in Texas is likewise carried from the days of the earliest pioneers to the moment Santa Anna's army was approaching. A certain scorn is displayed for the political principles and methods of Sam Houston and

Andrew Jackson. Also, the rather common belief that Santa Anna had fallen greatly under the Napoleonic influence is ridiculed. Sr. Valadés accounts for some of the restlessness, turbulence, and cunning in the famous Mexican leader by building up an interesting case for the romany descent of the Santa Anna family.

Santa Anna y la Guerra de Texas is not a mere recitation of history. It translates the events of the period under discussion in terms of the social and economic conditions which caused or made possible the events. The author exhibits a remarkably clear insight into these conditions, and his frequent analyses of them constitute one of the most valuable features of the book. He shows that Santa Anna was not so much the creator of a political system as the product of one. On the whole, Santa Anna is probably treated more kindly in this study than in almost any other modern biography dealing with him.

Regarding the Texas war itself, the book shows that conditions in Mexico were so chaotic and deplorable in 1835 that Santa Anna with his incredible organizing ability was the only man in the country who could have molded together at that moment a large army and then march it two thousand kilometers to the field of action. Likewise is it noted that his campaign plans in Texas were well conceived for a general who consistently ignored strategy, scorned military science, and refused the advice of others. These plans were nearing a successful completion when his customary impatience, carelessness, over-confidence, and disdain for the enemy made possible the surprise at San Jacinto, where in some eighteen minutes was lost completely a war which already was nearly won.

In discussing the aftermath of San Jacinto, Sr. Valadés starts with the saving of Santa Anna's life by Houston, who was sharp enough to perceive that this man captive and alive meant everything to the Texans, and he continues through the many months of Santa Anna's incarceration. Some attention is also given to the political and economic situation in Mexico during his absence.

Sr. Valadés is to be thanked for having largely broken away from the usual Hispanic American custom of giving no indication as to the source of any quotations employed. In addition, a very complete and valuable chapter-by-chapter bibliography occupies nine pages at the end of the text.

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NOTES AND COMMENT

RICHARD OSWALD'S PLAN FOR AN ENGLISH AND RUSSIAN ATTACK ON SPANISH AMERICA, 1781-1782

Though the plan here described, for an English and Russian attack on Mexico and California, came to nothing, it seems to deserve passing notice. It is, in the first place, one more among the many plans projected in England for an invasion of the Spanish empire during the late eighteenth century; and the tale of those plans is one indication of the character and volume of contemporary interest in Spanish America. Secondly, its author, Richard Oswald, was the English peace commissioner during the negotiations between England and its former colonies in 1782. The fact that he should have proposed this plan, revising and modifying a previous proposal of his own, in the very midst of these negotiations, casts a remarkable reflection on his state of mind, and on his hopes for a suitable peace.

A Scotsman, a government contractor during the Seven Years War, a slave trader, and a merchant with extensive interests in the mainland colonies and in the West Indies, Oswald had acquired some reputation for political and commercial sagacity prior to his appointment in 1782.¹ Described by the secretary of the board of trade as "a merchant of great esteem and credit",² he had not been backward in tendering his advice on the conduct of national affairs. His "Thoughts on the State of America" in 1775,³ his "Sketch of an Examination at the Bar of the House" in the same year,⁴ his "General Observations, relative to the present State of the War", in 1779,⁵ to mention a part of his memoranda, are moderately interest-

¹ See *Dictionary of National Biography*; Sir G. Cornwall Lewis, *Essays on the Administration of Great Britain from 1783-1830* (London, 1864), p. 81; Elizabeth Donnan, *Documents illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America*, 4 vols. (Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1930-1935).

² B. F. Stevens, *Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives Relating to America, 1773-1783*. . . No. 2031. ³ *Ibid.*, No. 2032. February 9, 1775.

⁴ *Ibid.* No. 2037. February 27, 1775. Both the above documents were addressed to the Earl of Dartmouth.

⁵ 9th August, 1779, 72 pages, with Supplement, September 21st, 33 pages. This document is in the William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

ing and insufferably prolix. His "Plan for an alliance with Russia, in order to carry on the American War", proposed in the dark days of February, 1781, and revised in the following April, is less lengthy but more remarkable.⁶

This plan, wrote Oswald, was

intended to shew that it is in the power of Russia to make a compleat conquest of the Spanish settlements on the coast of the South Seas, in a short time, at a small expence, and with a certainty of maintaining them against Spain and every other power in Europe. As also, that being in possession of the ports on the South Seas, the conquest might be thereafter carried on eastwards, through the inland countries of Mexico and Peru; so as at last, to have the command of the Spanish ports on the Gulph of Mexico, and thereby to open a trade directly between the Baltic and the whole of those countries.

By this means Oswald hoped to cripple "the power of the Bourbon family for ever; by considerably reducing that of Spain", and, "at same time to raise the scale of the Russian power" as a present or potential ally against France.

Oswald's original scheme of February had been directly to incite a Russian attack "on the principal and settled posts of the Spaniards, such as Callao, Lima, and other places of the greatest strength and importance", tempting Russia with the offer of a "good understanding, and even a perpetual alliance with England". So extensive an enterprise would need considerable preparation. Moreover, since Oswald soon learnt that Russia was "tied up in the character of mediation" between the belligerent powers, he felt that such a proposal could not be directly made to that country with propriety. He therefore modified his plan to achieve the same ends by indirection. Thus revised the plan was as follows:

It was to be insinuated to Russia that the English were prosecuting an attempt on the Spanish coast in the Gulph of Mexico, through the river St. Juan, into the great Lake of Nicaragua, in hopes of making a settlement there; and by that means helping to divert a part of the force of Spain from the prosecution of this cruel war.

⁶ Headed "Plan delivered 12th April 1781", 19 pages. William L. Clements Library. See also Dartmouth Papers, *Hist. MSS. Comm., 14th Rep. App. X, II, 477*. I am indebted to Miss Edna Vosper, formerly of the William L. Clements Library, now of the National Archives, for first calling my attention to this document.

⁷ Oswald appears to have been undisturbed by the failure of the Nicaraguan expedition of 1780, which proved more injurious to Nelson's health than to Spain. Robert Hodgson, also, who had proposed such an expedition to Lord George Germain in 1779, and considered he could have managed it much better, still advocated the project in April, 1781. See José Torre Revello, "Escritos hallados

Russia should be asked to supply five or six thousand troops for garrisoning New York and other towns so that English troops could be transported south to secure the success of the Nicaraguan expedition. At this "the curiosity of the Russian minister" would naturally be aroused, and it would then be pointed out how the success of the English expedition would possibly result "in bringing about a revolt" of Spanish subjects in Mexico, how more Russian troops might be asked for to extend English conquests, and how—to bring indirection to an end—it was in Russia's power to conquer "the whole of these Spanish settlements on the South Seas" by troops sent from Siberia. Further explanations would reveal that England would content itself with conquests in the Gulf and would surrender its Pacific acquisitions to Russia. "To the ingenuity of politicians" it would be reasonably left "to concert such measures as shall give proper colour of justice" to Russian advance on Mexico. And proper color of justice or not, since "the northern parts of Mexico" were "in a manner unoccupied by Spaniards" there could be little objection to the Russians taking possession of California "whenever they think proper". Further extension of Russian dominion to Peru and Chile would be simple.

An equal simplicity characterized the practical details of this plan. Twenty-five transports should convey five thousand troops from Siberia to California. Immigration would rapidly follow a first settlement. A loan, at interest, or even a gift of half a million should be made to the Russian government as a final bait, and to defray the cost of the transports. Setting out from Kamtchatka the troops "would proceed to the coast of Mexico or California. Where there is no doubt they would arrive in about 10 or 12 weeks".

In view of recent Russian "discoveries and conquests in a direct course to the American coast", Oswald thought this plan less "romantic and chimerical" than might at first be supposed.⁸ But though

en poder del espía inglés Roberto Hodgson (1783)", *Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas*, Buenos Aires, tomo v (1926-1927), pp. 89-90; *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, *Stopford Sackville MSS.*, II, 289.

⁸ Such information as Oswald had about Russian advance in the Pacific and the operations of explorers and traders in the Aleutian islands, he claimed to have derived from Thomas Edgar, master of the *Discovery* in Captain Cook's last voyage. It is perhaps worthy of note that William Coxe's *Account of the Russian Discoveries between Asia and America* appeared in 1780 and went into a second edition in the same year. The first Russian settlement in North America was made in 1784.

Russia in the eighteenth century had made steady advances in the Pacific, its dominant interests in 1781 were rather in the Black Sea and even in the Mediterranean.⁹ A mutually advantageous alliance between Russia and England had not seemed impractical. To treat with the government of Catherine II, indeed, needed prolonged patience and a long purse. But when Oswald formulated his plan, England, in the face of the armed neutrality and of the joint forces of its former colonies, of France, Spain, and Holland, had for some time sought to secure this alliance. England even agreed to cede Minorca to Russia. But this was too much. "La mariée est trop belle", cried Catherine; "on veut me tromper". And the negotiations expired in futility and exasperation.¹⁰

Oswald's plan, while it seems to have made no impression at the time, was at least creditably imaginative; and he did not forget it. In April, 1782, he found himself sent by the Earl of Shelburne to open conversations with Benjamin Franklin, one of the American Peace Commissioners at Paris. The cabinet, on the 23d, authorized him to arrange with Franklin the time and place of negotiation, and to "represent to him that the principal points in contemplation are—the allowance of independence to America upon Great Britain's being restored to the situation it was placed in by the treaty of 1763".¹¹ Despite incidental difficulties, from now until October the conduct of the negotiations rested in Oswald's hands. Interestingly enough, already on May 6, Franklin noted that Oswald had intimated that it was apprehended, the greatest obstruction in the treaty might come from the part of Spain; but said, if she was unreasonable, there were means of bringing her to reason. That Russia was a friend to England, had lately made great discoveries on the back of North America, and made establishments there, and might easily transport an army from Kamtschatka to the coast of Mexico, and conquer all those countries.

"This appear'd to me a little visionary at present", wrote Franklin, "but I did not dispute it".¹²

⁹ See F. P. Renaut, *Les Relations Diplomatiques entre la Russie et les Etats Unis*, I (Paris, 1923), 147-148.

¹⁰ *Diary and Correspondence of James Harris, First Earl of Malmesbury* (2nd ed., London, 1845), I, 316, 319, 323-325, 347, 349; Sir John Fortescue, *The Correspondence of King George the Third*, V (London, 1928), Nos. 3202, 3230, 3237.

¹¹ Lord John Russell, *Memorials and Correspondence of Charles James Fox* (London, 1853), I, 345.

¹² A. H. Smyth, *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, VIII (New York, 1907), 436.

Some weeks later, gloomily reviewing the situation of England, Oswald "wrote out some minutes, as they occurred to me, of some things that I thought might be of use, in the present case, if the war should go on, or would concern the safety of England on future occasions".¹³ These were the "Minutes relative to the Situation of England in the present War", begun on June 26 and ended on July 1, together with a supplement of "Summary Objections and Queries . . ." added on July 3, and yet a further supplement on July 5, the whole running to sixty closely written pages.¹⁴

This portentous document, testifying at once to its author's industry and to his despair, Oswald forwarded to England on July 12, in the belief that since France sought "material alterations respecting the four quarters of the world", and since Spain demanded the cession of Gibraltar, peace was likely "to be at a greater distance than was expected".¹⁵

In this belief Oswald renewed in effect his plan of 1781, but with fresh modifications in design and in detail suitable to altered circumstances. He now proposed that an expedition should be announced and actually prepared "to range the Spanish coast of the South Seas in America". The "bare report" of such an expedition, he believed, would greatly "facilitate the progress of the treaty now in hand". Moreover, the way ought to be prepared for "a revolution in the strength of the confederacy now opposed to us" by showing the world how easily Spain may be divested of these South Sea settlements, and the whole transferred under the dominion of the Russian empire, by a small body of troops convey'd from Siberia through the Pacific Ocean to the coast of the said South Seas.

By this means the alliance against England might so far be crippled "that Spain would cease to be a formidable naval power . . . and France would of course be left alone to stand her future contests with England". Russian conquests once begun would rapidly be pushed forward into the Gulf of Mexico; Russia would necessarily ally itself with England "in reciprocal treaties of defence and commerce"; and the result would be to "furnish occasion of serious reflection" both to France and Spain "as to the justice of their policy

¹³ Oswald to Shelburne, July 12, 1782, *Memorials and Corr. of Charles James Fox*, IV, 256.

¹⁴ Shelburne Papers, William L. Clements Library, 72:121-189.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 72:124-125. Oswald to Shelburne, July 12, 1782, *Corr. of C. J. Fox*, IV, 256.

in taking such part in the dismemberment of the English dominions in North America".

A squadron, therefore, wrote Oswald, should be prepared to run straight from the Cape of Good Hope to China, two frigates proceeding to Kamtchatka to engage as many Russians as possible and to provision. "If in a month or two, the treaty should appear to go on smoothly, and we are likely to hold Gibraltar, the expedition need not proceed". Meanwhile, the report of its preparation should be allowed to circulate, and the English ambassador at St. Petersburg should ask leave for the ships to provision at Kamtchatka. In so doing he should seize his opportunity to display the ease with which the Russians could become "masters of the whole of the Spanish settlements on the South Seas". He would describe the wealth of the Indies, "the pusillanimity and effeminacy of the native creoles", the general discontent, the weakness of the defences, and the difficulty Spain would have in coming to the aid of its colonies. He would show that a large part of the American coast was unoccupied by the Spaniards, that thirty transports with five thousand troops sent from Kamtchatka could soon fortify a post in northern Mexico, and that with five thousand more the whole "of this vast and rich country" and ultimately Peru would fall into Russian hands. London merchants would be glad to fit out the transports on commission, and the expenses of the expedition could be defrayed by a loan in London.

The mere rumor of an English expedition, Oswald believed, would alarm Spain. But its "surprize and alarm would still be greater" on learning that the whole subject had been discussed with Russia. In great dismay, both France and Spain would "incline for the present to hush this din of war" and "to close with England more speedily, and on more reasonable terms, than we might have otherwise reason to look for". "All this", Oswald added,

may probably appear to be a visionary project: I even admit, it is most likely to turn out so. Yet under that discouragement I venture to offer it, as in certain cases it may do good, and in no view can be attended with either danger or great expence.

In some thirty more pages Oswald continued to labor his "visionary project", finally suggesting that should the peace negotiations proceed favorably, the plan of Russian conquest could be laid aside for the present but renewed later. "By the plan here propos'd", he argued, "a new power" would be "erected on the naval theatre of Europe; and such as is not likely to enter into schemes of coalition

with either of our present enemies''; and England would be indispensably necessary to Russia in assisting it in its trade between the Baltic and its new dominions. In any event, concluded Oswald, England ''could hardly be in a worse situation than she is now'' in regard to its West Indian possessions, and without some ''different regimen'' in the balance of European naval power, the future of the British West Indies would remain permanently insecure.

It seems doubtful whether Oswald really believed that this plan would meet with the approbation of his superiors. Shelburne himself would seem to have read it; but no documents have come my way to indicate that it was ever seriously considered. It remains a curious commentary on Oswald's state of mind during the summer of his negotiations in Paris in 1782.

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THE CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF CUBA BY OCAMPO: WHEN DID IT TAKE PLACE?

Sebastián de Ocampo, a Galician grandee and an able and intelligent navigator in the service of Isabel the Catholic, according to the unanimous opinion of both modern and ancient historians who have studied the subject, was the man who effected the complete circumnavigation of the island of Cuba, by carrying out the instructions of the knight commander, Father Nicolás de Ovando, governor of Española. But the question arises as to exactly when Sebastián de Ocampo initiated his notable undertaking, and, especially, when he brought it to a fortunate termination. On these two points the opinions of historians seem to be divided, as is seen in the following.

Fray Bartolomé de las Casas¹ tells us that:

The knight commander also resolved at that time (which was the year 1508), to send someone to make a thorough exploration of the island of Cuba, because up to that time it was not known whether it was an island or part of the mainland, nor how long it was; and also to determine whether it were dry land, as some said that much of it was swampy, being ignorant of what the admiral had seen there, when he discovered it in 1494, as stated in Book I. For that exploration, he sent as captain a Galician grandee, in the service of Queen Isabel, Sebastian de Campo [*sic*] by name—one of those who had come with the first admiral on his second voyage, when he came to colonize this island [Española].

¹ *Historia de las Indias* (Madrid, 1875), III, 210-211.

Las Casas likewise gives a brief summary of the voyage of Ocampo and concludes with these words:

and the knight commander brought the news that it was an island and, if my memory is not at fault, the expedition lasted eight months.

Antonio de Herrera² reproduces the narrative of Las Casas almost verbatim:

...and the knight commander, Nicolás de Ovando, having been given special orders to see whether it was dry land, because the general opinion was that much of it was swampy, not knowing what the admiral, when he discovered it in 1494, had seen there, sent on this exploration Captain Sebastián de Ocampo, a native of Galicia, in the service of Queen Isabel, he having been one of those who went to Española with the admiral, Don Christopher, when he went to colonize it.

And Herrera, like Las Casas, ends his narrative thus:

and he carried to the knight commander the true news that it is an island, the expedition having taken eight months.

Thus, for Las Casas, and, therefore, for his faithful reproducer, Herrera, the circumnavigation of Cuba was begun in the year 1508, lasted eight months, and was carried out during the governorship of the knight commander, Father Nicolás de Ovando.

But Las Casas³ himself tells us that Diego Colón, son of the "first admiral", and Ovando's successor,

had very fair weather and a happy voyage, and entered this port of Santo Domingo in the month of July, 1509.

Ocampo's voyage of exploration, therefore, if the above be in accordance with the facts, must unquestionably have been brought to a fortunate termination before that date, and as it lasted eight months, one must admit either that it began and ended in the same year of 1508, or that it began in 1508 and ended in 1509.

But Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo⁴ manifestly contradicts Las Casas and Herrera. He says:

A short time before the knight commander of Alcántara, Father Nicolás de Ovando, was removed from the governorship of those parts, he sent two caravels and people to see whether it would be possible, in a peaceful manner, to settle the island of Cuba with Christians; and to determine what would be advisable

² *Historia general de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas i Tierra Firme del Mar Oceano* (Madrid, 1730), década I, libro VII, capítulo I, p. 178.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 251.

⁴ *Historia general y natural de las Indias, Islas y Tierra-Firme del Mar Oceano* (Madrid, 1851), libro XVII, capítulo II, p. 495.

in case the Indians resisted. And for this purpose he sent as captain a grandee named Sebastián de Ocampo, who went to that island and landed there; but he accomplished little, and when he had been there but a short time the second admiral of these Indies, Don Diego Colón, came to govern these parts, and the knight commander returned to Spain.

According to Oviedo, then, Ocampo's voyage was begun at the end of Ovando's governorship and ended during that of his successor, Diego Colón.

The distinguished Cuban historiographer, Pedro José Guiteras, who was the first to note this contradiction (Las Casas and Herrera vs. Fernández de Oviedo) writes that:⁵

It is not possible, in the absence of other data, to reconcile two opinions which are so explicit that a notable contradiction is evident in them. If we are to accept the statement of the former,⁶ Ocampo's voyage could have ended in 1508, or about the middle of 1509, as the admiral, Don Diego, arrived at Santo Domingo on July 10 of the latter year; if, on the other hand, Oviedo is more nearly correct, this voyage (admitting that Ocampo took eight months in making it) must have been begun in the early part of 1509 and finished at the end of the same year.

Sr. Navarrete has nothing on this point in the documents which form his extensive collection, and the authors who have preceded us in writing the history of Cuba, unfortunately leave the matter in the same obscurity. It is to be hoped that some day there may be found in the Archives of the Indies, at Seville, or in some other archives of the kingdom, some authentic document which will remove the doubts raised by Herrera and Oviedo and explain the other events which took place on that voyage, and in such a case it would be well if the librarian who has that good fortune would notify the Royal Economic Society of Havana, so that this illustrious body might give it the proper publicity in America, thus making clear and better known a very important event in our history.

The "authentic document", the discovery of which Guiteras so ardently wished for, was made public thirteen years after the publication of his notable *History of the Island of Cuba* (1865-66), in Volume XXXI of the *Colección de Documentos Inéditos* (first series), published at Madrid in the year 1879.⁷ It remained unknown to our historians

⁵ *Historia de la Isla de Cuba* (New York, 1865-1866), I, 227-228, note 2.

⁶ Guiteras refers exclusively to Antonio de Herrera, owing to the fact that when he wrote his history, the works of Las Casas had not yet been published. Guiteras could, it is true, learn of the "extracts" of the original manuscript entitled "Historia de las Indias", written and published by the notable Cuban naturalist, Don Felipe Poey, in the "Memorias de la Sociedad Económica".

⁷ *Colección de Documentos Inéditos relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista y Organización de las antiguas Posesiones Españolas de América y Oceanía, sacados de los Archivos del Reino y muy especialmente del de Indias* (Madrid, 1879), XXXI, 453.

for many years until recently (1928) it was again given publicity by the industrious scholar and illustrious writer, José María Chacón y Calvo, in his notable *Cedulario Cubano*.⁸

It is a royal decree addressed to the knight commander, Father Nicolás de Ovando, on August 14, 1509, in response to a letter from him dated the 15th of the previous April. This document refers to a clandestine expedition to the coasts of Cuba, made by one Sancho Camacho and his brother, and to the reasons why Ovando, on that date (April 15) had not yet tried to "catch Sancho Camacho and his brothers", "and still less had finished circumnavigating the entire island", the reasons being none other than "the existing lack of good ships".

The above proves that on April 15, 1509, Knight Commander Ovando had not yet ordered the departure of Sebastián de Ocampo. Since, as we have stated, the knight commander was relieved of his functions in the month of July, 1509, Oviedo is right in affirming that Ocampo's expedition was begun⁹

a short time before the knight commander of Alcántara, Father Nicolás de Ovando, was removed from the governorship of those parts . . . and when he had been there but a short time the second admiral of these Indies, Don Diego Colón, came to govern these parts. . . .

that is, between April 15 and the month of July, 1509.

Therefore, if the circumnavigation lasted eight months, as affirmed by Las Casas and repeated by Herrera, it must necessarily be admitted that Ocampo's voyage took place in the course of the year 1509, or that, having been begun in 1509, it was terminated in the first part of 1510.

One must, then, rectify the erroneous date of 1508 as the initial year of Ocampo's undertaking, and, in accord with the statements of Oviedo, confirmed by documents, set the year 1509 as the date on which the indispensable circumnavigation of Cuba was begun. It is not possible, on the other hand, to establish with exactness the time at which Ocampo's voyage ended (end of 1509 or beginning of 1510). Perhaps, some day, a new "authentic document" will remove the doubt which at this time we limit ourselves to indicating.

It is also just to render merited homage to the critical faculties of the eminent historian, Pedro José Guiteras, who, by making an

⁸ *Colección de Documentos inéditos para la Historia de Hispano-América*. Tomo VI. *Cedulario Cubano (Los Orígenes de la Colonización)*, I (1493-1512), 162.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, on the page cited.

analytical study of the old Spanish chroniclers, noted the contradiction and judiciously indicated the place where the key to the enigma should be found.¹⁰

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The Junta de Historia y Numismática Americana, of which Dr. Ricardo Levene is president, has undertaken a very ambitious program which is being realized in an excellent manner. Its publications began in 1903 and have continued up to the present, and consist of facsimile editions of old books and editions of previously unedited materials, a *Boletín* (published since 1924), a number of pamphlets, facsimile reprints of old periodicals of Argentina, and a number of books written expressly for publication by the Junta. Among the periodicals being reproduced are the *Gaceta de Buenos Aires* (1810-1821); *El Redactor de la Asamblea* (1813-1815); and the *Semanario de Agricultura, Industria y Comercio*, of which Vol. V (año de 1806) has already appeared. The corresponding members of the Junta in the United States of North America are: Percy Alvin Martin, Alfred Coester, Lewis Hanke, Archer M. Huntington, Leo S. Rowe, William Spence Robertson, and James A. Robertson.

¹⁰ The following is a reproduction of the paragraph from the royal decree of August 14, 1509, in which reference is made to the incomplete circumnavigation of Cuba. As there are minor differences between the text of the *Documentos Inéditos* and that of the *Cedulario Cubano*, both versions are reproduced:

Documentos Inéditos

Quanto a lo que decys que ymbiareis a la *Isla de Cuba* a thomar a Sancho Camacho e a su hermano que se abian ydo allá, secretamente, e que non lo abiades fecho nin menos abiades arribado de baxar toda la Ysla, por la falta que ay de carabelas, si al tiempo que llegare non obieredes puesto en obra lo susodicho, por servycio Mio, que con el cuidado y delyxencia que Yo de vos confío, entendays en cobrar a Sancho Camacho e a su hermano e a todos los que allá fueron, e se ponga muncha delyxencia; e en el del baxar de la Isla, se a de contestar algo; non cureys dello por ahora.

Cedulario Cubano

En lo que dezis que enbiareys a la Isla de Cuba a tomar a Sancho Camacho y a su hermano que se avian ydo alla secretamente e que no lo aviades fecho ni menos aviade acabado de bojar toda la ysla por la falta que hay de caras velas sy al tiempo que este llegare no ovieredes puesto en obra lo suso dicho por servicio mio que con el cuydado e diligencia que yo de vos confío entendays en cobrar a Sancho Camacho e a su hermano e todos los que alla fueron se ponga mucha diligencia y en lo del bojar de la ysla sy a de costar algo no cureys dello por agora.

At its meeting on October 8 the Council of the Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association reëlected Professor A. Curtis Wilgus and Miss Carmel Sullivan president and secretary-treasurer respectively of the association. At the same time plans were announced for holding in the city of Washington the first national convention of the organization on February 18 and 19, 1938. It was also announced that the next volume to be distributed to its members would bear the title *The National Archives of Latin America*. This is being prepared by Dr. Roscoe Hill, Chief of the Classification Division of the National Archives at Washington.

The Eighth International Congress of Historical Sciences will be held in Zurich, Switzerland, on August 28-September 4, 1938. It will be organized in fourteen sections, dealing with the various fields and periods of historical studies, including pre-history, science of antiquities, auxiliary sciences, numismatics, religious, legal, constitutional, economic, social, and military history, intellectual history and history of science, and historical methods. Two kinds of papers will be presented. Those of general interest, limited to about fifty in number, will be read at the large morning sessions, while those of more special interest, limited to about 150 in number, will be read at section sessions held in the afternoon. The organization of the Congress is in the hands of a committee of which Dr. George Hoffmann, Susenbergstrasse 145, Zurich 7, Switzerland, is secretary, to whom all correspondence respecting the Congress or participation in it should be addressed. The membership fee has been set at twenty-five Swiss francs, but members of the families of participants as well as undergraduates may secure membership at a reduced fee of twelve Swiss francs.

Dr. Bertha E. Josephson, editorial associate of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, is working on a "Handbook for Historical Writing". For her chapter on Footnote Construction she invites historians to submit examples of typical, and also of particularly difficult, specimens in footnote citation for the following fields: ancient, far-eastern, medieval, modern European, Hispanic-American, Canadian, and English history. She is especially interested in examples of archival material and unpublished manuscript references in these fields. Suggestions should be addressed to: B. E. Josephson, 104 Hitchcock Hall, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio.

Dr. Alfred B. Thomas, formerly of the University of Oklahoma, is now in the University of Alabama.

Dr. Lewis K. Beeler, formerly of the University of Arizona, is now connected with the University of Oklahoma.

Dr. Lewis Hanke, editor of the *Handbook of Latin American Studies*, which has recently appeared from the Harvard University Press for the year 1936, will leave for Brazil about February 1. He will be in that country for about five months and will visit all parts. His visit is in connection with field work relating to his Social Science Research Council Fellowship; but he will probably also act as visiting lecturer for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. The *Handbook* will be reviewed in the May issue of this REVIEW.

The Office of Education of the U. S. Department of the Interior is fostering a series of radio broadcasts on Hispanic America, for the purpose of giving the people of the United States a greater understanding and appreciation of Hispanic American history and culture. It is stated that the broadcasts will be in the form of dramatizations woven around outstanding characters and events in Hispanic American history.

The Biblioteca Nacional of Argentina has purchased the Foulché Delbosc Collection for the sum of two hundred thousand pesos. Many of the outstanding items have been placed on display.

Miss Brown, editor of the *Bulletin of the Pan American Union*, has lately returned from South America. Miss Heloise Brainard, former chief of the Division of Intellectual Coöperation of the Pan American Union, is now connected with Stetson University at DeLand, Florida.

Dr. Roland D. Hussey of the University of California at Los Angeles will have leave of absence from his teaching duties next semester and will visit the Caribbean area and Central America.

Dr. Charles E. Chapman's second volume of his history of Hispanic America has recently been published by Macmillan. It will be reviewed in the May issue of this REVIEW.

Among recent publications of outstanding merit is Henry R. Wagner's *Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the Year 1800*. This will be reviewed in the May issue of this REVIEW.

Rev. Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., who took his doctorate recently in the Catholic University of America, is in charge of the papers of Rev. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., at the Old Mission at Santa Barbara, California. He is busy arranging the great mass of papers and will calendar them. Undoubtedly, they will prove of outstanding value for the history of the missions of California and adjacent regions.

The Admiral Vernon medals belonging to Commander Leander McCormick-Goodhart of the British Embassy were exhibited at the University of Virginia during the month of October, 1937. The collection numbered 255 varieties out of a positively known total of 270, and of nearly 500 medals in all.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

A REPORTED NEW MANUSCRIPT OF AMERIGO VESPUCCI

In a recent issue of the *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Professor Roberto Ridolfi¹ reports the discovery of a hitherto unpublished manuscript bearing the name of Amerigo Vespucci; a fragment of a letter to Lorenzo de' Medici, describing the voyage of 1501-1502. The document, which Ridolfi found in the family archives of Ginori Conti at Florence, appears to be a second- or third-hand copy of an original now lost. If authentic, this is the first Vespuccian manuscript to appear since 1827, when Count Baldelli published the famous Cape Verde letter in his *Il Milione*.

Ridolfi believes that after Vespucci wrote to Lorenzo in 1502,² the latter responded, asking several questions, to which the present document is the explorer's reply. The acceptance of this view would date the letter at about the beginning of 1503.

Should this fragment, which is reproduced in full by the finder, prove genuine, it would add a little to our all too meager knowledge of the Florentine discoverer. For instance, it would dispel any idea of a Vespuccian discovery of Río de la Plata, since the letter describes the expedition as following the continental coast-line only to 32° S. The voyage is referred to as Vespucci's third, indicating that the two earlier ones in the service of Spain actually did take place as described in the *Quatuor Navegationes* and the *Lettera*. This runs counter to the thesis developed by Professor Alberto Magnaghi,³ and now widely accepted. Magnaghi holds that the letters published in the lifetime of Vespucci are spurious and that only those appearing in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are to be trusted. The latter describe but two voyages, one in Spanish service to the Caribbean and Gulf, and a second for Portugal to the Brazilian coast and the south Atlantic.

¹ "Una lettera inedita di Amerigo Vespucci sopra il suo terzo viaggio", in *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 1937, I, 3-20.

² The letter first published by Francesco Bartolozzi, *Ricerche storico-critiche circa alle scoperte d'Amerigo Vespucci* (Florence, 1789).

³ *Amerigo Vespucci* (Rome, 1926).

Magnaghi has already declared Ridolfi's document a forgery ("... si rivela da un primo esame come il più nettamente apocrifo fra i vari della stessa risma . . ."),⁴ and in view of his reputation as the foremost living authority on Vespucci, much weight must be accorded this opinion. He proposes soon to demonstrate the falsity of the letter, and his discussion will probably appear in the *Rivista Geografica Italiana*. Ridolfi, from the confident tone of his article, does not seem disposed to abandon his opinion lightly, and plans to include the document in a critical edition of the Vespucian letters which he announces as in preparation. Discussions of interest to students of historical geography are in prospect as this old but ever-interesting subject is reopened.

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⁴ *Rivista Geografica Italiana*, I-II, Gennaio-Aprile, 1937, p. 88.

NOTES

William Spence Robertson's translation of Ricardo Levene's *Leciones de Historia Argentina*, has issued from the University of North Carolina Press. This is the first volume of the Inter-American Historical Series which was projected some years ago. The second volume will be Henao and Arrubla's *Historia de Colombia*, which has been translated by Dr. J. Fred Rippy. Dr. Robertson's translation will be reviewed in an early issue of this REVIEW.

Mariquita Sánchez, by María Alicia Domínguez (Buenos Aires, "El Ateneo", 1937, pp. 331) is the story of an Argentine woman who lived from 1785 to 1868. While written in the form of a novel, this work will nevertheless be of interest to historians as well as to those in the field of *belles lettres*. Not only does the book contain an excellent reflection of the atmosphere of colonial society but, through the long life of its heroine, it reflects as well the periods of the English invasions, the wars of Independence, and the Tyranny. The position of women in colonial society is especially well defined. Again, this book is of historical interest because of the intense nationalism of its spirit. Señorita Domínguez has well described her book when, in the *Envoy* of its final page, she qualifies it as "a fervent offering laid on the altar of the greatest of human loves . . . —love of one's native land—symbolized in the image of a woman". And, incidentally, that woman—Mariquita Sánchez—proves to have been an interesting character in her own right.—MADALINE W. NICHOLS.

In 1927 Professor Clevon of the University of Pittsburgh published through Ginn and Co. his *Readings in Hispanic American History*. This volume has served a most useful purpose and has been widely used. During August, 1937, the George Washington University Book Store issued in mimeographed form a supplement to Professor Clevon's book entitled *Readings in Hispanic American Colonial History, 1492-1824*, compiled by Professor A. Curtis Wilgus. The book numbers 164 pages and contains 128 readings divided into nine chapters as follows: The American Environment (6 documents), The European Background (15 documents), The Spanish Discovery and Conquest in

America (25 documents), The Government of the Spanish Colonists (6 documents), The Indians and their Treatment in Spanish America (7 documents), Society in Spanish America (6 documents), The Church in Spanish America (17 documents), Colonial Brazil (19 documents), and The Revolutions for Independence (27 documents). There are no duplications of the documents in Professor Cleven's book. The work is for sale in limited numbers by the George Washington University Book Store for \$1.60.

Frederick C. Chabot, that indefatigable writer of books about Texas, has published (1937) a rather pretentious volume entitled *With the Makers of San Antonio. Genealogies of the early Latin, Anglo-American, and German Families with occasional Biographies* (San Antonio, pp. xii, 412, \$5.00). The volume was privately published, the printing being done by the Artes Gráficas of San Antonio. The author explains in his preface that the volume is not a history, but a collection of "carefully selected genealogies and biographies of families and persons who were closely related with early Texas history". His materials are based largely on manuscript sources mainly from Texan, Mexican, and Spanish archives. Much of the earliest genealogical material is taken from records kept by the Catholic Church. Accounts are given of 99 Spanish-Mexican families, 13 French families, 26 Anglo-American families, and 23 German families. There are short historical summaries for the several periods of Texan history which were gleaned from many authors as the footnotes show. The genealogical material is valuable for workers in Texan history. The illustrations are superior, many of them having been reproduced from engravings and paintings. The volume contains considerable information not assembled elsewhere.

Spanish Prelude by Jennie Ballou (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., [c 1937], pp. [6], 306, \$2.50) is the second of the "Houghton Mifflin Literary Fellowship" books to be published. The author is a Russian-born American whose studies carried her to Cornell, Paris, and Madrid. She displays an amazing knowledge of the latter-day Spanish philosophy and has much to say of the unrest and vagaries of life among the intelligentsia of Spain before the war—factors, one is inclined to think that were in part responsible for the early phases of the war. There is, perhaps, too much cynicism expressed. One gathers that Spain, too, had its "pink" fringes. The book is well written.

Living High—At Home in the Far Andes, by Alicia O'Reardon Overbeck (New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1935, pp. x, 382, \$3.00) is an intimate description of life as experienced by North Americans of the United States and other foreigners in the mining districts of Bolivia. The volume has some excellent descriptions and although life was rather stark in many ways, the experiences, as related by Mrs. Overbeck—from a woman's point of view—are of interest. There may be a bit of misunderstanding in the book and some overstatement, but no maliciousness. Descriptions of the high Andes appear excellent and the squalor in some of the camps and settlements is probably not overdrawn.

Mexico Around Me (New York, Reynal and Hitchcock, [c 1937], pp. xii, 305, \$2.50) by Max Miller, is written in a free and easy style by an author accustomed to writing. In this unusual book of travels, made in an unconventional manner, the author has sought the unusual and found it. In consequence, he leaves the reader with many memories of an exotic Mexico. He questions much of the Cortés experiences, which he says are beyond the pale of possibility. He calls the bluff Bernal Díaz del Castillo the secretary of the great conquistador—a mistake for which there is no excuse—and follows the conclusions of Robert A. Wilson, an engineer, whose book was published in 1856. He occasionally touches a rather high chord in his appreciation, but he frequently describes in picturesque and unrestrained language what he saw.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF TOTONAC LINGUISTIC MATERIALS

A. INTRODUCTION

The area known as the Totonac region includes a portion of the state of Vera Cruz, the northern portion of the state of Puebla, and an adjacent area in the state of Hidalgo, Republic of Mexico. The three chief seats within this area are located at the towns of Misantla, in the southern part, Papantla, in the northern portion, and Zacapoaxtla, in the Highlands.¹ The first two towns are located in the state of Vera Cruz while the third is in the state of Puebla. Although the boundary lines² of the area cannot be definitely assigned, they are more or less as follows: The southern boundary begins at the mouth of the San Carlos River and following its principal tributary in a more or less direct line ends at the town of Jalacingo, Vera Cruz, near the Puebla-Vera Cruz boundary. The western limits begin at this point, pass near Zacapoaxtla to Zacatlan, thence northward along the eastern boundary of the department of Tulancingo, thence

¹ Krickeberg, *Die Totonaken*, p. 17.

² The boundary lines here cited are according to Krickeberg (*op. cit.*, pp. 17-18). Other authors differ slightly in setting forth the boundary lines. Strebel (*Arohäol. und ethiol. Mitt. aus Mexiko*, p. 9), states that Totonac is spoken in the towns of Jalcomulco and Apasapán, both of which are to the south of the southern boundary. Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, II, p. 269, III, 410) sets the boundary nearer to Misantla, north of the San Carlos River. Orozco y Berra (pp. 214-216) extends the western boundary to Aquixtlán and Tonalapa, but states that the Mexican language dominates in the departments of Teciuhtlán and Tlatlahuquitepec, areas in the southwestern portion of the Totonac region. Along the northern boundary, this same author found only Mexican towns between the Cazonas River and Tuxpán. Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, II, p. 269), however, found the Totonac language spoken as far as the Tuxpán River. Strebel (*Die Ruinen von Cempoallan*, p. 6) includes Tuxpán, north of the Cazonas River, within the Totonac area. Lombardo Toledano ("Geo. de las leng. de la Sierra de Puebla", in *Universidad de México*, t. 3, no. 13, November 1931) shows on his Carta etnográfica de la Sierra de Puebla that the Totonac language is now (1924) spoken in the entire northern portion of Puebla. The most recent map (México en cifras, 1934, map. 13) showing the distribution of languages in Mexico in the 1930 census extends the area to the south and west and somewhat to the north of the boundaries named in this paper.

back to Pantepec. The northern boundary begins at Pantepec and crosses over to the east to the Cazones River which it follows to the Gulf of Mexico.

Within this area five dialects of the Totonac language are spoken, as follows: Tetikilhati, Tatimolo (sometimes called Naolingo), Ipapana, Chacahuaxti, and Tepehua.³ The latter remained unclassified until Frederick Starr suggested its relation to the Totonac. It is now considered a dialect of the Totonac language and is spoken in the area adjacent to the west and north of the region just described, in the state of Hidalgo in the town of Huehuetlán, and in Vera Cruz in the town of Huayacocotla.

The Totonac culture was the first encountered by the Spaniards when they landed in Vera Cruz in 1519. Bernal Díaz del Castillo⁴ speaks of the tributes exacted by Montezuma throughout the land where the Totonac language was spoken. Las Casas⁵ tells of Cortés entering the interior, finding at first empty cities, and then encountering fifteen or sixteen spies from the cacique of Cempoalla, the capital city of Totonacapán, who came to find out what manner of people the Spaniards were. The earlier chroniclers say little about the language, although Bernal Díaz del Castillo⁶ mentions the Totonac language, recording at the same time an expression "Lope lucio, lope lucio", meaning in that language, "prince and great lord". Sahagún⁷ noted that the people of the Totonac area were said to be

³ Orozco y Berra (p. 206) left the Tepehua dialect unclassified, saying that he had been unable to determine its relationship to the other surrounding languages. Starr (I, 84) suggested its relationship to the Totonac, adding that in addition to the five towns cited by Orozco y Berra (Huayacocotla, Zontecomatlán, Santo Domingo Alcoyunca, Santa María Hueytepec, and Tenamicoya) all of which are in the state of Vera Cruz, Tepehua was spoken in Huehuetla, Hidalgo and in Tlaxco, Puebla. Nicolás León (*Anales del Museo Nacional*, VII, 285) included the Tepehua as a part of the Totonac linguistic family, however, disagreeing with Orozco y Berra concerning the Tepehua spoken in the town of Huayacocotla, which he says is Otomí slightly altered. Yet he included in his article (pp. 301-304) a "Vocabulario del dialecto llamado Tepehua que se habla en Huayacocotla". Pinart (*Am. Ant. and Orient. Jl.*, IV, 237) refers to the language of the Akalman in this region inhabited by the descendants of the Tepehua tribe. Towns mentioned by him are Huehuetlán, in Hidalgo, and Tlachichilco and Zontecomatlán in the district of Tuxpán in Vera Cruz. The Akalman is identified by Nicolás León as Tepehua.

⁴ Díaz del Castillo, *True History* (Maudsley ed.), I, 168.

⁵ Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, III, 489. ⁶ *Op. cit.*, I, 151.

⁷ Sahagún, *Historia general de las Cosas de Nueva España* (Bustamante ed., III, 131-132, lib. 10, chap. 29, sec. 7).

Guastemas (Huastecas) and that their language seemed to differ from that of the other inhabitants, some of them speaking Otomí, and others Nahuatl; others of them understood the Guasteca (Huasteca) language.

The first contributions to discussions and text materials of the language arose from the first missionaries going out to these regions. Fray Andrés de Olmos⁸ is perhaps the first, contributing *Arte de la lengua Totonaca*, and *Vocabulario en la misma lengua*, sometime before 1571, the date of his death. During this same period, Francisco Toral⁹ is said to have written an *Arte y vocabulario de la lengua Totonaca y varios opusculos catequísticos en la misma*. A third early writer in the first half of the seventeenth century is Eugenio Romero, mentioned by González Dávila.¹⁰ None of these foregoing works are extant. However, a number of manuscripts, as well as some printed material, on the Totonac language remain from the eighteenth century.

Heretofore no complete bibliography of Totonac linguistic materials has been compiled. This lacking, students have been misled in the belief that almost no materials have been recorded, of which a statement by William Gates¹¹ is an extreme example. Therefore, this bibliography proposes, as far as is possible, to bring together into one list all Totonac linguistic materials, in order to give the student a truer conception of what materials have been recorded and to indicate, wherever possible, the location of these materials. Starred (*) materials are to be found in the Department of Middle American Research, Tulane University of Louisiana.

Acknowledgment is made to Frans Blom, whose card list of Totonac materials forms the basis for the present bibliography.

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¹⁰ González Dávila, *Teatro eclesiástico* (1649), I, 232.

¹¹ *The William Gates Collection* [1924], No. 924: "Only six Totonac manuscripts are recorded, this and the next number [925] with four others now in the 'Hispanic Society'. . . . The printed material is almost as scanty, being two small imprints, both exceedingly scarce".

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See Ludewig, p. 190; and Malte-Brun, p. 23.

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Vol. III, pt. 2, pp. 776-779: Discussion of the Totonac language, its alphabet, pronouns, conjugation, comparative vocabulary and the Lord's Prayer in the Totonac language.

*Bocabulario de la Idioma Totonaca conforme al Usso de la Cierra Alta. Pp. 91. MS.

Vocabulary of over 2,000 words and expressions. Schuller assigns this manuscript to the 2d half of the 18th century. A photostat copy by William E. Gates is in the Peabody Museum, Harvard University.¹²

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Díaz de Anaya, Cristoval. *Arte para aprender el Idioma Totonaca.* N.d.

See Beristain, I, 71; Clavejero (Eng. tr.), II, 413; Eguara, pp. 500-501 (Christophorus Diaz Sancta Anna); Guadalupe Romero, p. 375; Ludewig, p. 190; Malte-Brun, p. 23; and Viñaza, p. 237, No. 1150.

——— *Confessionario en Idioma Totonaco.* N.d.

See Eguara, pp. 500-501 (Christophorus Diaz Sancta Anna); and Viñaza, p. 327, No. 1152.

——— *Vocabulario Totonaco-Castellano.* N.d.

See Beristain, I, 71; Clavijero (Eng. tr.), II, 413; Ludewig, p. 190; Malte-Brun, p. 23; and Viñaza, p. 327, No. 1151.

¹² C. Ashenden. Letter to Arthur E. Gropp, May 6, 1935.

- *Domínguez, Francisco. *Catecismo de la Doctrina cristiana puesto en el Idioma Totonaco de la Cierra [sic] baja de Naolingó, distinto del de la Cierra Alta de Papantla*. Reimpreso en Puebla, en la imprenta del Hospital de San Pedro, 1837. Pp. 38, [1].

Pp. 26-38: comparison of the Totonac dialects.

See Brasseur, p. 58; Fischer, No. 531, p. 58; Leclerc, No. 2443, p. 639; Palan y Dulcet, III, p. 76; Pinart, No. 330, p. 56; and Viñaza, No. 441, p. 194.

—— See also Zambrano Bonilla, Joseph.

- Domínguez, Juan Manuel. *Bocabulario de la lengua Totonaca y Castellana, y lo que se trate en el, ques la Doctrina cristiana y el Confisionario*. 1749. 95 ll. MS.

In the Hispanic Society of America library.

Viñaza, No. 325, does not give location of manuscript. He, however, refers (p. xxi) to Icazbalceta, *Adiciones*, No. 191, as the source for his information, stating that the "Adiciones" are 30 supplementary entries in manuscript added at the end of the printed copy of 175 entries, and therefore not available for consultation here. The copy containing the "Adiciones" was inscribed in Mexico, 1868, to Manuel R. Zarco del Valle, who presented it to the Biblioteca de Su Magestad, el Rey de España.

- Gatschet, Albert S. *Vocabulary*. N.d.

Consists of 850 card entries, and is to be found in the archives of the Bureau of American Ethnology.¹⁴

- Hervas, Lorenzo. *Saggio pratico delle Lingue con Prolegomeni, e una Raccolta di Orazione Dominicali in piu di trecento Lingue, e Dialectti con cui si dimostra l'Infusione del primo Idiome dell'uman Genere, e la Confusione delle Lingue in esso poi succeduta, e si additano la Diramazione, e Dispersione delle Nazioni con molti Risultati utili alla Storia*. Cesena, Gregorio Biasini, 1787.

Pp. 118-119: Words and vocabulary.

See Los Jesuitas, p. 142; Ludewig, p. 190; and Viñaza, p. 179, No. 372.

- *Origine, Formazione, Meccanismo*, ed. Armonia degl' Idiomi. Cesena, Biasini, 1785.

Tab. L. et seq.

See Los Jesuitas, p. 142; Ludewig, p. 190; and Viñaza, p. 178, No. 367.

- *Catálogo de las Lenguas de las Naciones conocidas, y Numeración, División y Clases de éstas, según la Diversidad de sus Idiomas y Dialectos*. Madrid, Librería Cruz, 1800-1805.

6 v.

Treatment of language; I, 286-289.

See Viñaza, pp. 186-187, No. 397.

- *Krickeberg, Walter. *Die Totonaken; ein Beitrag zur historischen Ethnographie Mittelamerikas*. Berlin, D. Reimar, 1918-1925. 2 pts. (Baessler-Archiv, Beiträge zur Völkerkunde, Bd. VII; Sonderabdruck aus Bd. IX.)

Pt. 1, pp. 16-22: *Ethnographie der Totonaken*. Treats of the Totonac language, gives some words; but lists no vocabulary.

- *—— *Los Totonaca; Contribución a la Ethnografía histórica de la América Central*. Tr. from the German by Porfirio Aguirre. México, Secretaría de Ed. Pública, 1933. Pp. 241, 2 l.

¹⁴M. W. Stirling. Letter to Arthur E. Gropp, April 2, 1935.

Translation of "Die Totonaken".

Pp. 27-35: Etnografía de los Totonaca.

*Lehmann, Walter. Über die Stellung und Verwandtschaft der Subtiaba-Sprache der Pazifischen Küste Nicaraguas und über die Sprache von Tapachula in Süd Chiapas. München, 1915.

P. 19: Totonakish (3 columns of vocabulary).

*León, Nicolás. Familias lingüísticas de México. (In *Anales del Museo Nacional de México*, VII, 279-307. 1903.)

P. 282: Classification and sub-divisions of Totonac language.

Facing p. 282: A map "Sinopsis de las familias idiomas y dialectos de las lenguas indígenas de Mexico".

P. 285: Statement that the Tepehua has in it influences of Maya, Nahuatl and Tatikilhiati (Totonac dialect), the latter dominant and therefore is included in the Totonac group.

Pp. 298-304: "Vocabulario en lengua Tepehua" taken from the pueblo of Huehuetlan in the State of Hidalgo, and "Vocabulario del dialecto llamado Tepehua" taken from the pueblo of Huayacocotla in the state of Veracruz.

P. 300: The Lord's prayer.

*——— Familias lingüísticas de México; Idiomas y Dialectos a ellas pertenecientes. 4a. rev. (Resumen). Mexico, 1921.

Contains also a reprint of the linguistic map.

*Lombardo Toledano, Vicente. Geografía de las Lenguas de la Sierra de Puebla, con algunas Observaciones sobre sus primeros y sus actuales Pobladores. (In *Universidad de México*, III, No. 13, 14-96. November, 1931.)

Pp. 16-54: pt. 1, Los Totonacos antiguos; pt. 2, Los actuales Totonacos. Text ends p. 58. At end of plates, 2 maps: "Carta etnográfica de la Sierra de Puebla . . . Lenguas que se hablaban en 1570", and "Carta etnográfica de la Sierra de Puebla . . . Lenguas que se hablan en 1924".

Within the text are Totonac names for furniture, places, costumes, gods, medical terms, etc.

P. 43: Short vocabulary comparing three of the Totonac dialects.

P. 53: Song, "Auin Talapaxquiyauh" (Nos amamos) sung by young unmarried women of the tribe.

Nouvelles Annales des Voyages. See Ternaux-Compans.

Olmos, Andres de. Arte de la Lengua Totonaca. 1560.

See Beristain, II, 353; Fernández, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 1611, p. 66; Guadalupe Romero, p. 381; León Pinelo, Epítome, 1629, p. 108; Ludewig, p. 83 (listed under Huasteca); Malte-Brun, p. 23; Mendieta, 1870, p. 651; Oroz MS., p. 113; Vetancurt, IV, 439; and Viñaza, p. 15, No. 29; p. 252, No. 772.¹⁵

¹⁵ Viñaza and Ludewig enter the work by Olmos under the following title: "Grammatica et lexicon linguae Mexicanæ, Totonacæ, et Huastecæ. Mexici, 1560. 2 v". Viñaza cites Adelung's "Mithridates", III, 92, in his list of references, and gives a sub-title: "Cum catechismo evangelii, epistolique Mexicane". Viñaza, however, believes that the sources from which he (Viñaza) drew, had confused Olmos with Fr. Alonso de Molina, attributing works of the latter to Olmos, and so expresses doubt in his mind as to the actuality of an "Arte de la lengua Totonaca" by Olmos. Be that as it may, there are, how-

——— *Vocabulario en la Lengua Totonaca*. 1560.

See previous entry for references.

*Orozco y Berra, Manuel. *Geografía de las Lenguas y Carta etnográfica de México*. Mexico, Impr. de J. M. Andrade y F. Escalante, 1864.

Linguistic map at end.

Pp. 204-205: Discussion of the Totonac area, language, dialects and list of towns in Veracruz belonging to the Totonac area.

Pp. 205-206: Tepehua and Othomí. The Tepehua is classified by later authors as a dialect of the Totonac language.¹⁶

Pp. 19-20: Conquest, background, and classification of language.

P. 66: Totonaco listed in alphabetical list of languages.

Pp. 214-216: Further discussion of the Totonac area with a list of Totonac towns in the state of Puebla.

*Patiño, Celestino. *Vocabulario Totonaco*. Xalapa, Enriquez, 1907. Pp. 53, [1].

Pp. 1-20: Castellano-Totonaco, arranged in 3 columns: Castellano, Totonaco de Papantla, and Totonaco de la Sierra.

Pp. 20-31: Nombres numerales; pronombres y ejemplos; verbos y ejemplos; adverbios y modos adverbiales; preposiciones; conjunciones; interjecciones. All are arranged Castellano-Totonaco.

Pp. 31-44: Totonaco-Castellano, with the same column arrangement.

Pp. 44-53: Numerales; pronombres; verbos; conjugacion de verbos; adverbios y modos adverbiales; preposiciones; conjunciones; interjecciones; dialogos.

Pimentel, Francisco.¹⁷ *Cuadro descriptivo y comparativo de las Lenguas indígenas de México*. Mexico, 1862-1865.

2 v.

This work exists in the Library of Congress.

*——— *Cuadro descriptivo y comparativo de las Lenguas indígenas de México*. 2a ed. México, Tip. de Isidro Epstein, 1875.

3 v.

Pp. 299-343: *El Totonaco*.

Pp. 345-368: Comparaciones relativas al Totonaco (a) Gramática (b) Dicionario.

*——— *Descripción sinóptica de algunos Idiomas de la República Mexicana*. (In *Renacimiento* [Mexico], I, 1869.)

Article appeared serially.

Pp. 229: Totonac. The language is briefly analyzed and illustrated with words and expressions.

*Pinart, Alphonse L. Akal'man. (In *American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal*, IV, 237, 1882.)

ever, the citations by the earlier authorities such as Oroz, Mendieta, Fernández, León Pinelo, and Vetancurt, who definitely state that Olmos wrote an "Arte" in the Totonac language.

¹⁶ See note 2.

¹⁷ The author believed the Totonac language to be a mixed language between the Maya and Mexican (2a ed., III, 345-346).

"In 1881 Pinart explored several portions of the Sierra de Vera Cruz, Mexico, and visited what remains of the ancient Tepehua tribe in these regions, who called themselves Akal'man and inhabit the towns of Huehuetla in Hidalgo. These are also scattered in smaller numbers through the Tuxpan district of the State of Vera Cruz in the villages of Tlachichilco and Zontecomatlan. . . . Their language seems to differ from all linguistic families around them, as evinced by the vocabulary and texts obtained by the explorer".—Albert S. Gatschet, ed.

Numerals 1-2, 20, 30, 40 are listed in the native language.

- *Radin, Paul. Mexican kinship Terms. Berkeley, California, 1931. ("University of California, Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology", XXXI, No. 1.)

P. 8: Totonaca relationship terms. This information is taken from Zambrano Bonilla, "Arte de Lengua Totonaca".

- Romero, Eugenio. Arte para aprender las Lenguas Mexicana y Totonaca. N.d. (probably seventeenth cent.).

See Beristain, III, 65;²⁸ González Dávila, I, 232; Guadalupe Romero, p. 382; Ludewig, p. 190; Malte-Brun, p. 23; and Viñaza, p. 329, No. 1175.²⁹

- Santoyo, Antonio. Catecismo y Confesionario en Lengua Totonaca. N.d.

See Beristain, III, 120; Clavijero, II, 413 (lists author only); Guadalupe Romero, p. 383; Viñaza, p. 330, No. 1183.

- *Schuller, Rodolfo R. [Comparative vocabularies]. P. 23. MS. N.d.

Pp. 1-5 Totonaco; pp. 5-17 Maya; p. 1821 Totonaco and Maya; pp. 22-23 Maya. This entry and the following by the same author are found in the Schuller Collection acquired by the Department of Middle American Research.

- *—— De las Comparaciones que subsiguen . . . entre el idioma de los indios Totonaca y las lenguas de la familia Maya K'itché. P. 1. Typewritten MS. N.d.

Arrangement: Castellana, Maya, Totonaca.

- *—— Totonaco—apuntes. P. 38. MS. N.d.

Excerpts from *Catecismo de la Doctrina cristiana* by Francisco Domínguez, and is largely vocabulary.

- *—— Totonaco (Sierra). P. 42. MS. N.d.

Notebook: fol. 1-19 treats the Mexican and Otomí languages; fol. 20-42 and rear cover is Totonac vocabulary. Seems to have been based on *Vocabulario Totonaco*, by Celestino Patiño.

- *—— [Vocabulary]: Castellano: Sierra Alta: Sierra Baja. P. 15. Typewritten MS. N.d.

Taken from *Catecismo de la Doctrina cristiana*, by Francisco Domínguez.

- *—— Vocabulario del dialecto llamado Tepehua que se habla en Huayacocotla, Cantón de Chicontepec, Estado de Vera Cruz. P. 9. Typewritten MS. N.d.
Copied from *Familias lingüísticas de México*, by Nicolás León. Marginal note reads: Otomí.

²⁸ Gives title as "Arte ó Gramatica de la Lengua Totonaca".

²⁹ Viñaza gives the following other sources: Nicolás Antonio, I, 362-363; León Pinelo, II, col. 729.

- *——— *Vocabulario en lengua Tepehua que se habla en el Estado de Hidalgo—Municipio de Tenango de Doria, Pueblo llamado Huehuetlan.* P. 9. Type-written MS. N.d.
 Copied from *Familias lingüísticas de México*, by Nicolás León. Marginal note reads: Totonacan.
- Seler, Eduardo. [Manuscript materials on the Totonac Language.] N.d.
 A statement in "Die Totonaken" (Krickeberg, p. 16) reads as follows: "Through the courtesy of Geheimrat Eduard Seler, the editor has received new and to date unedited linguistic materials which have been used in the following chapters". This material is not listed in Krickeberg's bibliography.
- *Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística. *Colección polidiómica Mexicana que tiene la Oración dominical vertida en cincuenta y dos Idiomas indígenas.* México, Librería de Eugenio Maillefert y Comp., 1860.
 P. 45-46: Lord's prayer in two dialects.
See Viñaza, p. 207, No. 521.
- *——— *Colección polidiómica Mexicana que contiene la Oración dominical en sesenta y ocho Idiomas y Dialectos.* Nueva ed., cor. y aum. México, Impr. de E. Dublan y Comp., 1888.
 Pp. 28-29: Lord's prayer in 3 dialects.
- *Starr, Frederick K. *Notes upon the Ethnography of Southern Mexico.* 1900. (Reprinted from the *Proceedings of Davenport [Iowa] Academy of Natural Sciences*, Vol. VIII.)
 Pp. 83-86: Tepehua.
 Pp. 86-88: Totonac.
 Appendix of 71 words in the Mexican languages includes Tepehua and Totonac.
- *Strebel, Hermann. *Die Ruinen von Cempoallan im Staate Veracruz (Mexico) und Mitteilungen über die Totonaken der Jetztzeit.* Hamburg, 1883.
 Pp. 23-30: Totonakische Liebeslieder in Totonac.
- Swanton, John R. *See* Thomas, Cyrus.
- Ternaux-Compans. *Vocabulaire des principales langues du Mexique.* In *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages et des Sciences géographiques*, 4th ser., année 2, IV, 257-287. December, 1841.)
 Pp. 260-285: 551 French words translated into five Indian languages of which 115 have been translated into the Totonac.
 P. 287: Totonac count from 1-29.
 Pp. 257-259: Discussion of the five languages.
 Copy in the Library of Congress.
See Ludewig, p. 190.
- *Thomas, Cyrus, and Swanton, John R. *Indian languages of Mexico and Central America and their geographical distribution.* Washington, 1911. (In *Bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, No. 44.)
 P. 49: Discussion of the Totonac language.
- Toral, Fr. Francisco.²⁰ *Arte y vocabulario de la lengua Totonaca y varios opúsculos catequísticos en la misma.* N.d. [MS.]
- ²⁰Oroz MS., p. 22. Credits Toral with only *Arte en lengua Popoloca*, done while at Tecamachalco. Malte-Brun lists a Fran. Tobar as having written a

See Beristain, III, 182; Guadalupe Romero, p. 384; Ludewig, p. 190; Malte-Brun, p. 23; Viñaza, pp. 257-258, No. 816.^a
 Vater, Johann Severin. Proben . . . Seetzen's linguistischer Nachlass. Leipzig, Vogel, 1816.

Pp. 352-375: Vocabulary.

See Ludewig, p. 190.

See also Adelung, J. C.

*Viñaza, El Conde de la. Bibliografía Española de Lenguas indígenas de América. Madrid, Est. tip. "Sucesores de Rivadeneyra", 1892.

P. 393: Short discussion, giving the limits of the language and the dialects spoken.

*Vegar, R. G. Historical curiosities. (In *Modern Mexico*, VII, No. 12, 10-11 ff., May, 1936.)

P. 10 gives Lord's Prayer in Totonac with interlinear translation into English.

Vocabulario de Idioma Totonaca y Castellano . . . Catecismo de Doctrina cristiana en Idioma Totonaca para el Uso de Maestros de Escuela ó Estudiantes que quieren aprender cierta Idioma. 1789. 28 leaves. MS.

In the Hispanic Society of America.

Vocabulario manual de las Lenguas Castellana y Totonaca en que se contienen las Palabras Preguntas y Repuestas mas comunes y ordinarias que se suelen ofrecer en el Trato y Comunicación entre Españoles e Indios. 22 leaves. Eighteenth cent. MS.

In the Hispanic Society of America.

*Vocabulario y Doctrina en Lengua Totonaca de 1780. Pp. 38. MS.

Pp. 3-12: Doctrina; pp. 13-38: Vocabulary of words and phrases in Spanish-Totonac.

A photostat copy by William E. Gates is in the Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

Schuller, p. 42.

*[Vocabulary, Phrases and Sentences of the Totonac Language, spoken in the State of Vera Cruz, Mexico]. N.d. pp. 18. MS.

The Vocabulary comes from the library of the late Dr. Walter Hough, U. S. National Museum, and bears the inscription: "Obtained in Jalapa in 1899. [In another hand] Copia fiel del vocabulario Totonaco que posee el Prof. Luis Murillo de Jalapa, Mexico". It is written on narrow leaves of ruled paper, forming long columns, the Spanish standing opposite to the Totonac, both on the same page (except in the dialogues).

Zambrano Bonilla, José. Actos de Fee, Esperanza, y Charidad. Traducidos del Idioma Castellano, al Totonaco. . . . Puebla, 1753.

In the John Carter Brown Library.^a

Grammar and Dictionary in Totonac. He also lists Toral, crediting him with a Grammar.

^a Viñaza gives the following title: "Arte, vocabulario, doctrina cristiana y sermones en lengua Totonaca". Other sources cited by him are: Nicolas Antonio, I, 486; Leon Pinelo, II, col. 735; Saggio Civezza, No. 726.

^a Lawrence C. Wroth. Letter to Arthur E. Gropp, dated May 8, 1935.

- *——— *Arte de Lengua Totonaca, conforme á el Arte de Antonio Nebrija . . .*
 Lleva añadido una Doctrina de la Lengua de Naolingo, con algunas Vozes
 de la Lengua de aquella Sierra, y de esta de acá . . . su Author el Lic. D.
 Francisco Dominguez. Puebla, En la Impr. de la Viuda de M. de Ortega,
 1752. 22 ll., pp. 134, 3 ll., pp. 79, [2].

Pt. 2, pp. 49-79: Oraciones, y Doctrina de la Cierra baja de Naolingo,
 distintas de la Cierra alta de Papantla [y] distintos significados, de la toto-
 nacalpa, a la totonaca de Naolingo: Su Author el Lic. D. Francisco Dominguez.

See Andrade, No. 4480; Garcia Icazbalceta, No. 82; Ludewig, p. 190;
 Malte-Brun, p. 23; Medina, No. 552, p. 314; Ramirez, No. 861; and Viñaza,
 p. 153, No. 331.

- *Arte de Lengua Totonaca. . . .* Extract made by Albert S. Gatschet.
 N.d. MS.

Manuscript, No. 1573 in the Archives of the Bureau of American ethnology.²²

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 Tulane University of Louisiana.

²² Stirling, *op. cit.*

LIST OF GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS CONCERNING HISPANIC AMERICA

The items here listed have been taken from the April, May, and June, 1936, *Monthly Catalogue, United States Public Documents (with Prices)*, and from the *Monthly Catalogues* for July, August, and September, 1936, issued by the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. All items have been listed as they appear in the catalogue, including the Library of Congress card number whenever given.

ARGENTINA

1. *Argentina*. East coast of Argentina, Bahia Blanca to Golfo Nuevo, from Argentine Government charts to 1933, with additions from various government sources; chart 5282. Natural scale 1: 739,790 at lat. 40°40'. Washington, Hydrographic Office, May 1936. 31.6×46.1 in. 70c. N 6.18: 5282
2. ——— East coast of Argentina, Rio de la Plata to Bahia Blanca, from Argentine Government charts to 1933, with additions from various government sources; chart 5281. Natural scale 1: 778,793 at lat. 37°. Washington, Hydrographic Office, Feb. 1936, corrected through Notice to mariners 13, Mar. 25, 1936. 33×46.3 in. 60c. N 6.18: 5281

BRAZIL

3. *Brazil*. North coast of Brazil, Point Goiabal to Parnahyba River, compiled from latest information; chart 969. Natural scale 1: 979,911 at lat. 0°. Washington, Hydrographic Office, published Feb. 1886, 41st edition, May 1936. 29.5×43.9 in. [Natural scale incorrectly printed on map as 1: 979,911.] 60c. N 6.18: 969
4. *Para River*, channel to Para, Brazil, compiled from latest information; chart 1375. Natural scale 1: 48,364 at lat. 1°21'. Washington, Hydrographic Office, published June 1893, 16th edition, Mar. 1936. 38.3×25.1 in. 40c. N 6.18: 1375
5. *São Paulo, Brazil*. Revision of São Paulo, Brazil, State taxing system; by H. P. Crawford and W. E. Flournoy, jr. Apr. 3, 1936. [3]+6 p. 4° (General legal bulletin, foreign laws affecting American business, C. L. no. 578; G. L. 177; Commercial Laws Division.) [Processed.] Paper, 5c.; subscription price, \$1.00 a yr.; foreign subscription, \$2.00. C 18.95: 177

CHILE

6. *Concepcion Bay* and San Vicente Bay, Chile, from Chilean Government chart published in 1918 [with insets]; chart 1630. Scale naut. m.=1.3 in., natural scale 1: 58,253. Washington, Hydrographic Office, published July 1897, 12th edition, Apr. 1936. 27.3×42.9 in. 50c. N 6.18: 1630
- Penco [Concepcion Bay].
 Talcahuano, Concepcion Bay, from Chilean Government chart published in 1925.
 Tomé [Concepcion Bay].

7. *Libraries.* O trabalho cultural da bibliotheca infantil do Chile; [por Margarita Miéres de Rivas]. [1936.] ii+10 p. il. (Serie de educação no. 57.) [Do Boletim da União Panamericana, abril 1936.] Paper, 5c; subscription price for 12 issues of series, 50c. PA 1.13: p 57

COLOMBIA

8. *Cartagena Bay.* Bahía de Cartagena, north coast of Colombia, from survey by U. S. S. Nokomis in 1935, in collaboration with Comisión Hidrográfica de Colombia; chart 978. Scale naut. m.=3.7 in., natural scale 1: 20,000. Washington, Hydrographic Office, published June 1921, 6th edition, Apr. 1936. 42.4×31.9 in. 60c. N 6.18: 978
9. *Colombia.* North coast of Colombia, Punta Baru to Punta Canoas, including approaches to Bahía de Cartagena, from survey by U. S. S. Nokomis in 1935, in collaboration with Comisión Hidrográfica de Colombia; chart 5690. Natural scale 1: 80,000 at lat. 10°24'. Washington, Hydrographic Office, Apr. 1936. 31×39.7 in. 60c. N 6.18: 5690

COSTA RICA

10. *Schools.* A escola e a democracia costarricense; [por Teodoro Picado Micholski]. [1936.] ii+10 p. il. (Serie de educação no. 58. [Do Boletim da União Panamericana, maio 1936.] Paper, 5c.; subscription price for 12 issues of series, 50c. PA 1.13: p 58

CUBA

11. *Hospitals.* El Hospital Municipal de Infancia de la ciudad de la Habana. [1936.] ii+10 p. il. (Serie de salubridad pública y previsión social no. 83.) [The imprint date is incorrectly given on p. 10 as 1935 instead of 1936. Del Boletín de la Unión Panamericana, abril 1936.] Paper, 5c.; subscription price for 12 issues of series, 50c. PA 1.15: s 83
12. ——— Same, Portuguese, with title, O Hospital Municipal de Infancia da cidade de Havana. [1936.] ii+10 p. il. (Serie de saúde publica e previsão social no. 57.) [Do Boletim da União, maio 1936.] Paper, 5c.; subscription price for 12 issues of series, 50c. PA 1.15: p 57

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

13. *Dominican Republic* [foreign trade of Dominican Republic for 1934] latest reports from Dominican official sources. [1936.] [1]+10 p. (Foreign trade series no. 143, 1936.) Paper, 5c. L. C. card 13-7275 PA 1.19: 143

ECUADOR

14. *Ecuador.* Anchorages on coast of Ecuador; chart 1122. Washington, Hydrographic Office, published Feb. 1889, 13th edition, Mar. 1936. 24.7×26.3 in. 30c. N 6.18: 1122
- Callo or Cayo, Port, (Port of Jipijapa), from sketch in Aug. 1900, by R. Paessler of S. S. Totmes.
- Caraques River, from British survey in 1847.
- Esmeraldas River, from British sketch survey in 1876, with additions by W. E. McMullen, 2d officer, S. S. Bogota, 1924.
- Machalilla, Port, from French Govt. plan of 1931.
- Manta Bay, original British survey in 1876.
- Pasado, Cape, Anchorage.
- Salango Island Anchorage, original British survey in 1847.

15. ——— [foreign trade of Ecuador for 1934] latest reports from Ecuadorean official sources. [1936.] [1]+6 p. (Foreign trade series no. 145, 1936.) Paper, 5c.
L. C. card 23-6433 PA 1.19: 145

GUATEMALÁ

16. *Guatemala* [foreign trade of Guatemala for 1933 and 1934] latest reports from Guatemalan official sources. [1936.] [1]+4+[1] p. (Foreign trade series no. 147, 1936.) Paper, 5c.
L. C. card 13-6844 PA 1.19: 147
17. ——— Tabular guide to economic conditions; [prepared in] Latin American Section, Division of Regional Information. 1936. 1 p. oblong 8°. [From Commerce reports, May 9, 1936.] C 18.5/1a: G 93

HAITI

18. *Port au Prince, Haiti*, Hispaniola, west coast, W. I., from survey by U. S. S. Eagle in 1913; chart 2660. Scale naut. m.=4 in., natural scale 1:18,241. Washington, Hydrographic Office, published June 1914, 11th edition, Feb. 1936. 27.7×31.2 in. 40c. N 6.18: 2660

MEXICO

19. *Culiacan, Mexico*-Punta de Vista, Mexico; aviation chart V-410. Scale 10 naut. m.=1.4 in., 10 stat. m.=1.2 in., natural scale 1:500,000. Washington, Hydrographic Office, Dec. 1929, correct through Notice to aviators 9, May 1, 1936. 46×10 in. [Provisional chart.] 40c. N 6.27: V-410/corr. 936
20. *Education*. Mexico e a sua educação rural; [pelo Rafael Ramírez]. [1936.] ii+6 p. il. (Serie de educação no. 56, janeiro de 1936.) [Resumo de um artigo publicado em el Maestro rural, numero de 15 de setembro de 1935. Do Boletim da União Panamericana, janeiro 1936.] Paper, 5c.; subscription price for 12 issues of series, 50c. PA 1.13: p 56
21. *Manzanillo, Mexico*-Acapulco, Mexico; aviation chart V-408. Scale 10 naut. m.=1.5 in., 10 stat. m.=1.3 in., natural scale 1:500,000. Washington, Hydrographic Office, Dec. 1929, correct through Notice to aviators 4, Feb. 15, 1936. 48.8×10 in. [Provisional chart.] 40c. N 6.27: V-408/corr. 936
22. *Mexico*. Corporation law of Mexico; by H. P. Crawford. June 12, 1936. [2]+iv+53 p. 4° (General legal bulletin, foreign laws affecting American business, C. L. no. 585; G. L. 185, 186, 187; Commercial Laws Division.) [Processed. Three numbers of G. L. series issued as one publication.] Paper, 5c.; subscription price, \$1.00 a yr.; foreign subscription, \$2.00. C 18.95: 185-187
23. ——— Insurance in Mexico: pt. 1, Withdrawal of foreign firms, taxation of foreign companies, life and fire statistics; by Thomas H. Lockett. Apr. 15, 1936. [1]+7 p. 4° (General legal bulletin, foreign laws affecting American business, C. L. no. 580; G. L. 179; Commercial Laws Division.) [Processed.] Paper, 5c.; subscription price, \$1.00 a yr.; foreign subscription, \$2.00. C 18.95: 179
24. ——— Mapa de los Estados Unidos de Méjico, 1847 [with insets]. Scale 200 m.=2.8 in. Revised edition. A. Hoen & Co. [Baltimore, Md.] 1935. 29.3×40.9 in. (Map series 5; Publication 803.) [Disturnell's map, earliest

of 5 or more 1847 editions, the copy added to the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of Feb. 2, 1848, in the archives of Department of State. Reproduced in 1935 to accompany Treaties and other international acts of United States, v. 5.] 35c. S 1.33: 5

Battle grounds of 8th and 9th, May, 1846, Map showing; by J. H. Eaton. Vera Cruz, Chart of Bay of; drawn by order of V. Admiral Baudin. Vera Cruz y Alvarado a Méjico, Carta de los caminos &c. desde.

25. *Puerto Mexico, Mexico*-Salina Cruz, Mexico; aviation chart V-246A. Scale 10 naut. m.=1.5 in., 10 stat. m.=1.3 in., natural scale 1: 500,000. Washington, Hydrographic Office, Apr. 1930, correct through Notice to aviators 3, Feb. 1, 1936. 25.8×10 in. [Provisional chart. Contains text and illustrations on reverse.] 40c. N 6.27: V-246 A/corr. 936
26. *Santo Domingo, Mexico*. Morro Santo Domingo, Mexico-Boca de Soledad, Mexico; aviation chart V-414. Scale 10 naut. m.=1.4 in., 10 stat. m.=1.2 in., natural scale 1: 500,000. Washington, Hydrographic Office, published Dec. 1929, 2d edition, correct through Notice to aviators 9, May 1, 1936. 41×10 in. [Provisional chart.] 40c. N 6.27: V-414/2/corr. 936
27. *Soledad Inlet*. Boca de Soledad, Mexico-Cabo San Lucas, Mexico; aviation chart V-413. Scale 10 naut. m.=1.4 in., 10 stat. m.=1.2 in., natural scale 1: 500,000. Washington, Hydrographic Office, published Dec. 1929, 2d edition, June 1932, correct through Notice to aviators 9, May 1, 1936. 31.3×10 in. [Provisional chart.] 40c. N 6.27: V-413/2/corr. 936
28. *Tampico, Mexico*-Puerto Mexico, Mexico; aviation chart V-246. Scale 10 naut. m.=1.4 in., 10 stat. m.=1.2 in., natural scale 1: 500,000. Washington, Hydrographic Office, published May 1930, 2d edition, Mar. 1932, correct through Notice to aviators 3, Feb. 1, 1936. 50.4×10 in. [Provisional chart. Contains text and illustrations on reverse.] 40c. N 6.27: V-246/2/corr. 936

NICARAGUA

29. *Nicaragua* [foreign trade of Nicaragua for 1934] latest reports from Nicaraguan official sources. [1936.] [1]+11+[1] p. (Foreign trade series no. 146, 1936.) Paper, 5c. PA 1.19: 146
L. C. card 20-21429

PANAMA AND THE CANAL ZONE

30. *Honda Bay*. Bahia Honda, south coast of Panama, Central America, from survey by U. S. S. Hannibal in 1934 and 1935; chart 1040. Scale naut. m.=4.9 in., natural scale 1: 15,000. Washington, Hydrographic Office, published June 1887, 12th edition, Mar. 1936. 21.7×32.1 in. 30c. N 6.18: 1040
31. *Montijo Bay*. Bahia Montijo, south coast of Panama, from survey by U. S. S. Hannibal in 1934; with inset, Continuation of Rio San Pedro; chart 5650. Scale naut. m.=1.6 in., natural scale 1: 45,000. Washington, Hydrographic Office, Apr. 1936. 46.1×33.1 in. 70c. N 6.18: 5650
32. *Panama Canal*. Canal Zone code, report to accompany H. R. 6719 [to amend Canal Zone code]; submitted by Mr. Duffy. Feb. 24, calendar day Apr. 10, 1936. 8 p. (S. rp. 1821, 74th Cong. 2d sess.) Paper, 5c.
33. ——— Increasing capacity of Panama Canal, report to accompany H. J. Res. 412 [to authorize investigation of means of increasing capacity of Panama Canal for future needs of interoceanic shipping]; submitted by

- Mr. Duffy. Feb. 24, calendar day Apr. 10, 1936. 3 p. (S. rp. 1822, 74th Cong. 2d sess.) Paper, 5c.
34. ——— To amend Canal Zone code, report to accompany S. 1379 [to amend sec. 981 of title 4, and sec. 843 of title 6 of Canal Zone code, so as to require marshal and clerk of Canal Zone to pay all moneys collected by them for Government into Treasury of United States]; submitted by Mr. Bland. Apr. 22, 1936. 7 p. (H. rp. 2478, 74th Cong. 2d sess.) Paper, 5c.
35. *Panama Canal record*, v. 29, no. 9; Apr. 15, 1936. Balboa Heights, C. Z. [1936]. p. 137-156. [Monthly.]
L. C. card 7-35328 W 79.5: 29/9
36. ——— v. 29, no. 10; May 15, 1936. Balboa Heights, C. Z. [1936]. p. 157-176. [Monthly.]
L. C. card 7-35328 W 79.5: 29/10
37. ——— v. 29, no. 11; June 15, 1936. Balboa Heights, C. Z. [1936]. p. 177-196. [Monthly.]
L. C. card 7-35328 W 79.5: 29/11
38. *Panama Canal zone*-Punta Mala, Panama; aviation chart V-401. Scale 10 naut. m.=1.5 in., 10 stat. m.=1.3 in., natural scale 1: 500,000. Washington, Hydrographic Office, published sec. 1929, 2d edition, Jan. 1932, correct through Notice to aviators 3, Feb. 1, 1936. 22×10 in. [Provisional chart.] 40c. N 6.27: V-401/2/corr. 936
39. *Panama* [foreign trade of Panama for 1935] latest reports from Panaman official sources. [1936.] [1]+6 p. (Foreign trade series no. 144, 1936.) Paper, 5c.
L. C. card 13-6845 PA 1.19: 144
40. *Panama*-Guantanamo; aviation operating chart VZ-205. Natural scale 1: 1,000,000 at lat. 14°. Washington, Hydrographic Office, Sept. 1935, correct through Notice to aviators 5, Mar. 1, 1936. 51.8×34 in. [Mercator projection.] \$1.00. N 6.27/4: VZ-205
41. *Panama*. South coast of Panama, Punta Burica to Cape Mala, from surveys by U. S. S. Hannibal and U. S. S. Nokomis between 1933 and 1935; chart 1018. Natural scale 1: 290,372 at lat. 7°26'. Washington, Hydrographic Office, published Mar. 1888, 37th edition, Apr. 1936. 31.9×48.5 in. 70c. N 6.18: 1018

PERU

42. *Callao Bay*. Bahia del Callao and vicinity, coast of Peru, from Peruvian charts of 1935; chart 784. Scale naut. m.=1.5 in., natural scale 1: 50,000. Washington, Hydrographic Office, published Apr. 1885, 30th edition, Apr. 1936. 23.3×30.8 in. 30c. N 6.18: 784
43. *Callao, Peru*. Puerto del Callao, coast of Peru, from Peruvian plan of 1935; chart 5685. Scale 1,500 yds.=5.4 in., natural scale 1: 10,000. Washington, Hydrographic Office, Mar. 1936. 22.4×25.6 in. 30c. N 6.18: 5685

PUERTO RICO

44. *Barbuda, W. I.*-Puerto Rico; aviation chart V-260. Scale 10 naut. m.=1.5 in., 10 stat. m.=1.3 in., natural scale 1: 500,000. Washington, Hydrographic Office, Sept. 1930, correct through Notice to aviators 24, Dec. 15,

1935. 47.8×10 in. [Contains text and illustrations on reverse.] 40c.
N 6.27: V-260/corr. 935.
45. *Porto Rico Brokerage Company, Incorporated*. No. 854, in Supreme Court, Oct. term, 1935, *Porto Rico Brokerage Co., Inc.* [et al.] v. United States, on petition for writ of certiorari to Court of Customs and Patent Appeals; brief for United States in opposition. [1936.] cover title, i+19 p.
J 1.13: P 838/16
46. *Puerto Rico*. Authorizing commissioner of fisheries to undertake fish-cultural activities, report to accompany H. R. 1391 [to authorize and direct commissioner of fisheries to undertake fish-cultural and related activities in Puerto Rico, authorizing appropriations therefor, and for other purposes]; submitted by Mr. Fletcher. June 1, calendar day June 3, 1936. 5 p. (S. rp. 2210, 74th Cong. 2d sess.) Paper, 5c.
47. ——— Extend provisions of certain laws to Puerto Rico, report to accompany H. R. 1392 [to extend provisions of certain laws relating to Federal aid in construction of roads to Puerto Rico]; submitted by Mr. Hayden. May 12, calendar day May 29, 1936. 6 p. (S. rp. 2130, 74th Cong. 2d sess.) Paper, 5c.
48. ——— Fish-cultural program for Puerto Rico, report to accompany H. R. 1391 [to authorize and direct commissioner of fisheries to undertake fish-cultural and related activities in Puerto Rico, authorizing appropriations therefor, and for other purposes]; submitted by Mr. Bland. May 7, 1936. 5 p. (H. rp. 2592, 74th Cong. 2d sess.) Paper, 5c.
L. C. card 36-26372
49. ——— Public Welfare Department for Puerto Rico, report to accompany H. R. 12119 [to amend sec. 13 and 19 of act to provide civil government for Puerto Rico, so as to create Public Welfare Department for Puerto Rico]; submitted by Mr. Dempsey. Apr. 13, 1936. 2 p. (H. rp. 2400, 74th Cong. 2d sess.) Paper, 5c.
50. ——— Puerto Rican independence committee, report to accompany S. J. Res. 270 [for appointment of committee to study question of Puerto Rican independence]; submitted by Mr. Tydings. May 12, calendar day May 29, 1936. 1 p. (S. rp. 2128, 74th Cong. 2d sess.) Paper, 5c.
51. *Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration. Purposes*. Need for Federal aid in Puerto Rico, purposes of Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration. 1936. 6 p. il.
L. C. card 36-26386
I 36.2: F 317
- NOTE.—The Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration was established as an agency within the Department of the Interior under the provisions of Executive order 7057 of May 28, 1935, to initiate, formulate, administer and supervise a program of approved projects for providing relief and work relief and for increasing employment within Puerto Rico.
52. *Territories and Island Possessions Division*. Supplemental estimate, Department of Interior, supplemental estimate of appropriation for Department of Interior for expenses, Division of Territories and Island Possessions [in carrying out provisions of Executive order 7368, approved May 13, 1936, relating to certain equatorial and south sea islands in Pacific Ocean]. May 12, calendar day May 30, 1936. 2 p. (S. doc. 257, 74th Cong. 2d sess.) Paper, 5c.

VENEZUELA

53. *Tertiary plants* from Venezuela; by Edward W. Berry. 1936. p. 335-360, il. (Proceedings, v. 83; no. 2988.) SI 3.6: 2988
54. *Venezuela. Coast of Venezuela*, Puerto Cabello to Orinoco River, and West India Islands, Trinidad to Martinique, compiled from latest information; chart 2319. Natural scale 1:952,808 at lat. 12°. Washington, Hydrographic Office, published, Apr. 1917, 12th edition, May 1936. 30.8×46.2 in. 60c. N 6.18: 2319
55. ——— [foreign trade of Venezuela for 1934] latest reports from Venezuela official sources. [1936.] [1]+6 p. (Foreign trade series no. 148, 1936.) L. C. card 20-15502 PA 1.19: 148
56. *Venezuela, Gulf of*. Gulf of Venezuela (Golfo de Maracaibo), Colombia and Venezuela, from surveys by U. S. S. Niagara between 1925 and 1927 (Aruba from Netherland Government chart of 1935); chart 5520. Natural scale 1:242,045 at lat. 11°40'. Washington, Hydrographic Office, published May 1928, 2d edition, June 1936. 32.5×48.3 in. 70c. N 6.18: 5520

CARIBBEAN AREA

57. *American Caribbean Line, Incorporated*. No. 175, American Caribbean Line, Inc., v. Compagnie Generale Transatlantique et al.; [decided May 13, 1936; report and order of department]. [1936.] [1]+549-553+[1] p. [Report from Shipping Board Bureau reports, v. 1.] SB 1.10/a: Am 35/7
58. *Hurricane patrol* in Gulf of Mexico, report to accompany H. R. 10313 [to provide for hurricane patrol in Gulf of Mexico and environs during hurricane season]; submitted by Mr. Bland. May 26, 1936. 4 p. (H. rp. 2787, 74th Cong. 2d sess.) Paper, 5c.
59. *Hurricane patrol* in Gulf of Mexico, report to accompany S. 4734 [to provide for hurricane patrol in Gulf of Mexico and environs during hurricane season]; submitted by Mr. Sheppard. June 1, calendar day June 3, 1936. 4 p. (S. rp. 2204, 74th Cong. 2d sess.) Paper, 5c.
60. *Salina Cruz, Mexico-Guatemala* City, Guat.; aviation chart V-406. Scale 10 naut. m.=1.4 in., 10 stat. m.=1.2 in., natural scale 1:500,000. Washington, Hydrographic Office, published Dec. 1929, 2d edition, Mar. 1933, correct through Notice to aviators 24, Dec. 15, 1935. 44.8×10 in. [Provisional chart.] 40c. N 6.27: V-406/2/corr. 935

WEST INDIES

61. *Coast pilots*. Supplement to United States coast pilot, West Indies, Puerto Rico, and Virgin Islands, 3d (1929) edition. Mar. 20, 1936. [1]+11 leaves. (Serial 446/6.) C 4.6/2: P 83/3/supp. 936
62. *Puerto Rico-Port au Prince, Haiti*; aviation chart V-261. Scale 10 naut. m.=1.5 in., 10 stat. m.=1.3 in., natural scale 1:500,000. Washington, Hydrographic Office, Aug. 1931, correct through Notice to aviators 24, Dec. 15, 1935. 48.1×10 in. [Contains text and illustrations on reverse.] 40c. N 6.27: V-261/corr. 935
63. *West Indies*. Sailing directions for West Indies, v. 1, Bermuda Islands, Bahama Islands, and Greater Antilles: section A, Coasts, including minor ports. 1st edition, 1936. 1936. vii+450 p.+[4] leaves, il. 1 pl. map.

([Publication] 128.) [Text on p. 2 of cover. The 4 leaves given in the collation consist of request coupons which are detachable.] Paper, \$1.50.
L. C. card 36-26220 N 6.8: 128/936-A

NOTE.—This publication, and section B cataloged below, are corrected to Jan. 1, 1936, including Notice to mariners 52. These sailing directions have been divided into 2 separately bound parts to make possible more frequent revision of the port information. The 2 sections constitute a revision of the 5th edition (1927) of Publication 128, which is hereby canceled.

54. ——— Same; section B, Principal ports. 1st edition, 1936. 1936. vi+228 p. +[1] leaf, il. 8 maps. ([Publication] 128.) [The 1 leaf given in the collation consists of request coupons which are detachable.] Paper, 75c.
N 6.8: 128/936-B

CENTRAL AMERICA

55. *Pilot charts.* Pilot chart of Central American waters, May 1936; chart 3500. Scale 1° long.=0.7 in. Washington, Hydrographic Office, Apr. 16, 1936. 23.3×35.1 in. [Monthly. Certain portions of the data are furnished by the Weather Bureau.] 10c. N 6.24: 936/5

NOTE.—Contains on reverse: Navigator's time-distance-speed diagrams and tables.

56. ——— Pilot chart of Central American waters, June 1936; chart 3500. Scale 1° long.=0.7 in. Washington, Hydrographic Office, May 14, 1936. 23.3×35.1 in. [Monthly. Certain portions of the data are furnished by the Weather Bureau.] 10c. N 6.24: 936/6

67. ——— Pilot chart of Central American waters, July 1936; chart 3500. Scale 1° long.=0.7 in. Washington, Hydrographic Office, June 22, 1936. 23.3×35.1 in. [Monthly. Certain portions of the data are furnished by the Weather Bureau.] 10c. N 6.24: 936/7

NOTE.—Contains on reverse: Cyclonic storms.

68. *Puerto Barrios, Guatemala-Cape Gracias a Dios, Nicaragua*; aviation chart V-251. Scale 10 naut. m.=1.4 in., 10 stat. m.=1.2 in., natural scale 1: 500,000 at lat. 16°. Washington, Hydrographic Office, May 1928, correct through Notice to aviators 4, Feb. 15, 1936. 51.1×10 in. [Provisional chart. Contains text and illustrations on reverse.] 40c.
N 6.27: V-251/corr. 936

69. *Puntarenas, Costa Rica-Punta Mala, Panama*; aviation chart V-402. Scale 10 naut. m.=1.4 in., 10 stat. m.=1.2 in., natural scale 1: 500,000. Washington, Hydrographic Office, published Dec. 1929, 2d edition, Jan. 1932, correct through Notice to aviators 9, May 1, 1936. 49.3×10 in. [Provisional chart.] 40c.
N 6.27: V-402/2/corr. 936

70. *Tela, Honduras-Managua, Nicaragua*; aviation chart V-404. Scale 10 naut. m.=1.4 in., 10 stat. m.=1.2 in., natural scale 1: 500,000. Washington, Hydrographic Office, published Mar. 1930, 2d edition, May 1931, correct through Notice to aviators 4, Feb. 15, 1936. 38.1×10 in. [Provisional chart. Contains text and illustrations on reverse.] 40c.
N 6.27: V-404/2/corr. 936

HISPANIC AMERICA AS A WHOLE

71. *Finances.* Latin American financial notes, no. 193 and 194, Apr. 14 and 29, 1936; prepared semi-monthly by Finance Division. [1936.] 12 leaves and 17 leaves, 4° [Processed.] Paper, \$1.00 a yr. C 18.107: 193, 194

72. ——— Latin American financial notes, no. 195 and 196, May 14 and 29, 1936; prepared semi-monthly by Finance Division. [1936.] [1]+16 leaves and 12 leaves, 4° [Processed.] Paper, \$1.00 a yr. C 18.107: 195, 196
73. ——— Latin American financial notes, no. 197 and 198, June 14 and 29, 1936; prepared semi-monthly by Finance Division. [1936.] 14 leaves and 15 leaves, 4° [Processed.] Paper, \$1.00 a yr. C 18.107: 197, 198
74. *Food.* Tropical products, v. 12, no. 20 and 21, Apr. 3 and 17, 1936; prepared fortnightly by Foodstuffs Division. [1936.] 12 leaves and 13 leaves, 4° [Processed.] Paper, \$1.00 a yr.; foreign subscription, \$3.00. C 18.72/7: 12/20, 21
75. ——— Same: Tropical products, v. 12, no. 22-24, May 1-29, 1936; prepared fortnightly by Foodstuffs Division. [1936.] various paging, 4° [Processed.] Paper, \$1.00 a yr.; foreign subscription, \$3.00. C 18.72/7: 12/22-24
76. ——— Same: Tropical products, v. 12, no. 25 and 26, June 12 and 26, 1936; prepared fortnightly by Foodstuffs Division. [1936.] 14 leaves and 11 leaves, 4° [Processed.] Paper, \$1.00 a yr.; foreign subscription, \$3.00. C 18.72/7: 12/25, 26
77. *Latin American foreign trade* in 1934, general survey. [1936.] ii+18 p. (Foreign trade series no. 149, 1936.) Paper, 5c. PA 1.19: 149
L. C. card 24-27492

UNITED STATES AND HISPANIC AMERICA

78. *Addresses.* American foreign trade policies, address by Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, before Chamber of Commerce of United States, Washington, [D. C.] Apr. 30, 1936. 1936. [2]+17 p. narrow 8° (Commercial policy series 24; [Publication 875].) [Originally issued as mimeographed press release for publication Apr. 30, 1936.] Paper, 5c. S 1.37: 24
L. C. card 36-26423
79. ——— Our need for foreign trade, address by Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, at foreign trade luncheon, New York City, May 22, 1936. 1936. [2]+12 p. narrow 8° ([Publication 881].) [Originally issued as mimeographed press release of May 22, 1936.] Paper, 5c. S 1.37: 26
L. C. card 36-26357
80. ——— Way to peace on American continent, address by Sumner Welles, assistant Secretary of State, before Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs, Baltimore, Apr. 15, 1936. 1936. [2]+11 pp. narrow 8° Latin American series 13; ([Publication 877].) [Originally issued as mimeographed press release for publication Apr. 16, 1936.] Paper, 5c. S 1.26: 13
L. C. card 36-26450
81. *Anti-war*, nonaggression and conciliation, treaty between United States and other American republics; signed Rio de Janeiro, Oct. 10, 1933, proclaimed Mar. 11, 1936. 1936. [1]+18 p. (Treaty series 906.) [Spanish, Portuguese, and English.] Paper, 5c. S 9.5/2: W 19/5
L. C. card 36-26524
82. *Birds.* Amend migratory bird treaty act of July 3, 1918 (40 Stat. 755), report to accompany S. 4584 [to amend migratory bird treaty act of July 3, 1918 (40 Stat. 755), to extend and adapt its provisions to convention be-

- tween United States and United Mexican States for protection of migratory birds and game mammals concluded at city of Mexico, Feb. 7, 1936]; submitted by Mr. Gillette. May 20, 1936. 5 p. (H. rp. 2692, 74th Cong. 2d sess.) Paper, 5c.
83. ——— Convention for protection of migratory birds and game mammals, convention between United States and United Mexican States for protection of migratory birds and game mammals, signed Mexico City, Feb. 7, 1936. [1936.] 6 p. (Confidential; Senate executive A, 74th Cong. 2d sess.) [Injunction of secrecy removed Apr. 30, 1936. For report, see Foreign Relations Committee, Senate, Birds, p. 741.] Y 1.74/2: A
84. *Corpus Christi, Tex.*-Tampico, Mexico; aviation chart V-245. Scale 10 naut. m.=1.5 in., 10 stat. m.=1.3 in., natural scale 1: 500,000. Washington, Hydrographic Office, May 1930, correct through Notice to aviators 9, May 1, 1936. 50.8×10 in. [Provisional chart. Contains text and illustrations on reverse.] 40c. N 6.27: V-245/corr. 936
85. *Pan American Commercial Conference*. Report of delegates of United States to Pan American Commercial Conference, held at Buenos Aires, Argentina, May 26-June 19, 1935. 1936. v+164 p. (Conference series 22; [Publication 845].) Paper, 15c. S 5.30: 22
L. C. card 36-26306
86. *Peace*. Participation by United States in inter-American conference to be held at Buenos Aires, Argentina, or at capital of another American republic, in 1936 [to determine how maintenance of peace among American republics might best be safeguarded], report to accompany S. J. Res. 248; submitted by Mr. McReynolds. Apr. 15, 1936. 2 p. (H. rp. 2412, 74th Cong. 2d sess.) Paper, 5c.
87. *Reciprocal trade*, agreement between United States and Colombia, signed Washington, Sept. 13, 1935, effective May 20, 1936; and joint declaration. 1936. [2]+45 p. (Executive agreement series 89; [Publication 884].) [English and Spanish.] Paper, 5c. S 9.8: 89
L. C. card 36-26558
88. *Rio Grande* canalization project, hearings, 74th Congress, 2d session, on H. R. 9998 and H. R. 11768, [bills] authorizing construction, operation, and maintenance of Rio Grande canalization project [by Secretary of State, acting through American section, International Boundary Commission, United States and Mexico], and authorizing appropriation for that purpose, Mar. 10 and 13, 1936. 1936. iii+46 p. Paper, 5c. Y 4.F 76/1: R 47/3
89. ——— Rio Grande canalization project, report to accompany H. R. 11768 [authorizing construction, operation, and maintenance of Rio Grande canalization project by Secretary of State, acting through American section, International Boundary Commission, United States and Mexico, and authorizing appropriation for that purpose]; submitted by Mr. Chavez. May 12, calendar day May 18, 1936. 1 p. (S. rp. 2038, 74th Cong. 2d sess.) Paper, 5c.
90. ——— Rio Grande canalization project, report to accompany S. 3536 [authorizing construction, operation, and maintenance of Rio Grande canalization project, by American section, International Boundary Commission, United States and Mexico, and authorizing appropriations for that purpose];

submitted by Mr. Chavez. May 12, calendar day May 15, 1936. 4 p. (S. rp. 2029, 74th Cong. 2d sess.) Paper, 5c.

91. *Salvage*. Assistance to and salvage of vessels in territorial waters, treaty between United States and Mexico; signed Mexico City, June 13, 1935, proclaimed Mar. 10, 1936. 1936. [1]+4 p. (Treaty series 905. [English and Spanish.] Paper, 5c.
L. C. card 36-26267 S 9.5/2: M 57/41
 92. *San Diego, Calif.-Morro Santo Domingo, Mexico*; aviation [chart] V-415. Scale 10 naut. m.=1.5 in., 10 stat. m.=1.3 in., natural scale 1: 500,000. Washington, Hydrographic Office, published Dec. 1929, 2d edition, Sept. 1932, correct through Notice to aviators 9, May 1, 1936. 48.6×10 in. [Provisional chart.] 40c. N 6.27: V-415/2/corr. 936
 93. *Trade routes*. American flag services in foreign trade and with United States possessions as of Jan. 1, 1935 [with map of services; issued by] Division of Shipping Research. 1936. 67 p. map, 4° (Report 1500-6-A.) [Contains names of lines, operators, addresses, domestic and foreign ports of call, etc.]
L. C. card 32-28059 C 27.9/1: 935
 94. ——— Map of American flag services in foreign trade and with United States possessions as of Jan. 1, 1935 [with list of points of departure and destinations of the various lines]; issued by Division of Shipping Research. Scale 10° long.=0.9 in. n. p. [1935]. 20.1×35.2 in. (Report 1500-6.) [Base map traced from Hydrographic Office, Navy Department chart 1262a.]
C 27.9/13: Am 3/935
- MISCELLANEOUS AND UNCLASSIFIED
95. *Amusements*. Como se distraem os Americanos; [por Otto T. Mallory]. [1936.] ii+10 p. il. (Serie de saúde publica e previsão social no. 56.) [Do Boletim da União Panamericana, abril 1936.] Paper, 5c; subscription price for 12 issues of series, 50c. PA 1.15: p 56
 96. *Argentine ant*. Distribution of Argentine ant in United States and suggestions for its control or eradication [with list of literature cited]; by M. R. Smith. May 1936. 40 p. i l. (Agriculture Dept. Circular 387.) Paper, 5c.
L. C. card Agr. 36-284 A 1.4/2: 387
 97. *Bulletin (English edition)*. Bulletin of Pan American Union, Apr. 1936; [v. 70, no. 4]. [1936.] iv+301-376 p. il. [Monthly.]
L. C. card 8-30967 PA 1.6: e 70/4
 98. ——— (*Portuguese edition*). Boletim da União Panamericana, abril 1936; [v. 38, no. 4.] [1936.] iv+257-315 p. il. [Monthly.]
L. C. card 11-27014 PA 1.6: p 38/4
 99. ——— (*Spanish edition*). Boletín de la Unión Panamericana, abril 1936; [v. 70, no. 4]. [1936.] iv+257-332 p. il. [Monthly.]
L. C. card 12-12555 PA 1.6: s 70/4
 100. *Bulletin (English edition)*. Bulletin of Pan American Union, May 1936; [v. 70, no. 5]. [1936.] iv+377-452 p. il. [Monthly.]
L. C. card 8-30967 PA 1.6: e 70/5
 101. ——— (*Portuguese edition*). Boletim da União Panamericana, maio 1936; [v. 38, no. 5]. [1936.] iv+317-376 p. il. [Monthly.]
L. C. card 11-27014 PA 1.6: p 38/5

102. ——— (*Spanish edition*). Boletín de la Unión Panamericana, mayo 1936; [v. 70, no. 5]. [1936.] iv+333-408 p. il. [Monthly.]
L. C. card 12-12555 PA 1.6: s 70/5
103. *Bulletin (English edition)*. Bulletin of Pan American Union, June 1936; [v. 70, no. 6]. [1936.] iv+453-528, p. il. [Monthly.]
L. C. card 8-30967 PA 1.6: e 70/6
104. ——— (*Portuguese edition*). Boletim da União Panamericana, junho 1936; [v. 38, no. 6]. [1936.] iv+377-436 p. il. [Monthly.]
L. C. card 11-27014 PA 1.6: p 38/6
105. ——— (*Spanish edition*). Boletín de la Unión Panamericana, junio 1936; [v. 70, no. 6]. [1936.] iv+409-484 p. il. [Monthly.]
L. C. card 12-12555 PA 1.6: s 70/6
106. *San Jacinto, Battle of, 1836*. Centennial celebration of Battle of San Jacinto, address delivered by George A. Hill, jr., before Kiwanis Club of Houston, Tex., on eve of centennial celebration of Battle of San Jacinto, with written description of battle by James Monroe Hill, participant therein; presented by Mr. Sheppard. 1936. ii+19 p. (S. doc. 253, 74th Cong. 2d sess.) Paper, 5c.
L. C. card 36-26502
107. *Soto, Hernando de*. To extend time for making report of Hernando De Soto Expedition Commission, report to accompany H. R. 11747 [extending time for making report of commission to study subject of Hernando De Soto's expedition]; submitted by Mr. Keller. Apr. 1, 1936. 1 p. (H. rp. 2339, 74th Cong. 2d sess.) Paper, 5c.

The list for July, August, and September, 1936, is as follows:

ARGENTINA

1. *Electricity*. No. 26, Argentina, supplement 1, from report by Joe D. Walstrom; issued by Electrical Division. July 16, 1936. 2 p. 4° [Processed. This publication supplements no 11, also entitled Argentina.] C 18.164: 26

CHILE

2. *Federico Santa María Technical University*. La Universidad Técnica Federico Santa María, su plan de enseñanza; [por Agustín Edwards McClure]. [1936.] ii+14 p. il. (Serie de educación no. 102.) [Del Boletín de la Unión Panamericana, junio 1936.] Paper, 5c.; subscription price for 12 issues of series, 50c. PA 1.13: s 102

COSTA RICA

3. *Schools*. La escuela y la democracia costarricense; [por Teodoro Picado Michalski]. [1936.] ii+10 p. il. (Serie de educación no. 101.) [Del Boletín de la Unión Panamericana, abril 1936.] Paper, 5c.; subscription price for 12 issues of series, 50c. PA 1.13: s 101

EL SALVADOR

4. *El Salvador* [foreign trade of El Salvador for 1934] latest reports from Salvadorean official sources. 1936. [1]+8+[1] p. (Foreign trade series no. 151.) Paper, 5c.
L. C. card 13-6846 PA 1.19: 151

MEXICO

5. *Lower California*. West coast of Lower California, Cerros Island to Abreojos Point, from survey by U. S. S. Ranger, 1887-89 and 1889-90; chart 1310. Natural scale 1:290,741 at lat. 27°30'. Washington, Hydrographic Office, published Mar. 1892, 26th edition, June 1936. 29.6×35.6 in. 50c. N 6.18: 1310

PANAMA CANAL

6. *Panama Canal record*, v. 29, no. 12; July 15, 1936. Balboa Heights, C. Z. [1936]. p. 197-216. [Monthly.]
L. C. card 7-35328 W 79.5: 29/12
7. ——— v. 30, no. 1; Aug. 15, 1936. Balboa Heights, C. Z. [1936]. p. 1-20. [Monthly.]
L. C. card 7-35328 W 79.5: 30/1
8. ——— v. 30, no. 2; Sept. 15, 1936. Balboa Heights, C. Z. [1936]. p. 21-36. [Monthly.]
L. C. card 7-35328 W 79.5: 30/2

PUERTO RICO

9. *Insular possessions*: Guam, Philippines, Puerto Rico, Samoa, Virgin Islands, list of publications for sale by superintendent of documents. June 1936. [2]+15+[1] p. (Price list 32, 24th edition.)
L. C. card 26-26353 GP 3.9: 32/24
10. *Report of Puerto Rico Experiment Station, 1935*. July 1936. cover title, 34 p. il. Paper, 5c.
L. C. card Agr 6-1362 A 10.12/1: 935

CARIBBEAN AREA

11. *Sponges*. Comparison of shallow-water sponges near Pacific end of Panama Canal with those at Caribbean end [with list of literature cited]; by M. W. de Laubenfels. 1936. p. 441-466, il. (Proceedings, v. 83; no. 3993.)
S 193.6: 2993

CENTRAL AMERICA

12. *Central America*. East coast of Central America and north coast of Colombia, Cabo Gracias á Dios to Puerto Colombia, compiled from latest information; chart 945. Natural scale 1:952,808 at lat. 12°. Washington, Hydrographic Office, published Oct. 1885, 70th edition, June 1936, corrected through Notice to mariners 27, July 1, 1936. 32×46.5 in. 60c. N 6.18: 945
13. *Pilot charts*. Pilot chart of Central American waters, Aug. 1936; chart 3500. Scale 1° long.=0.7 in. Washington, Hydrographic Office, July 16, 1936. 23.3×35.1. [Monthly. Certain portions of the data are furnished by the Weather Bureau.] 10c. N 6.24: 936/8
- NOTE.—Contains on reverse: Cyclonic storms.
14. ——— Pilot chart of Central American waters, Sept. 1936; chart 3500. Scale 1° long.=0.7 in. Washington, Hydrographic Office, Aug. 12, 1936. 23.3×35.1 in. [Monthly. Certain portions of the data are furnished by the Weather Bureau.] 10c. N 6.24: 936/9
- NOTE.—Contains on reverse: Cyclonic storms.

15. ——— Pilot chart of Central American waters, Oct. 1936; chart 3500. Scale 1° long.=0.7 in. Washington, Hydrographic Office, Sept. 15, 1936. 23.3×35.1 in. [Monthly. Certain portions of the data are furnished by the Weather Bureau.] 10c. N 6.24: 936/10

NOTE.—Contains on reverse: Cyclonic storms.

HISPANIC AMERICA AS A WHOLE

16. *Commercial policy*. A politica commercial da America Latina durante 1935; [pelo Henry Chalmers]. [1936.] ii+6 p. (Serie de finanças, industria e commercio no. 52.) [Do Boletim da União Panamericana, junho 1936.] Paper, 5c; subscription price for 12 issues of series, 50c. PA 1.14: p 52
17. *Finance*. Latin American financial notes, no. 199 and 200, July 14 and 29, 1936; prepared semi-monthly by Finance Division. [1936.] 16 leaves and 14 leaves, 4° [Processed.] Paper, \$1.00 a yr. C 18.107: 199, 200
18. ——— Latin American financial notes, no. 201 and 202, Aug. 14 and 29, 1936; prepared semi-monthly by Finance Division. [1936.] 17 leaves and 19 leaves, 4° [Processed.] Paper, \$1.00 a yr. C 18.107: 201, 202
19. ——— Latin American financial notes, no. 203 and 204, Sept. 14 and 29, 1936; prepared semi-monthly by Finance Division. [1936.] Each 14 leaves, 4° [Processed.] Paper, \$1.00 a yr.; foreign subscription, \$2.00. C 18.107: 203, 204
20. *Tariff*. Política arancelaria y comercial de la América Latina en 1935; [por Henry Chalmers]. [1936.] 8 p. il. (Serie de finanzas, industria y comercio no. 86.) [Del Boletín de la Unión Panamericana, mayo 1936.] Paper, 5c.; subscription price for 12 issues of series, 50c. PA 1.14: s 86

UNITED STATES RELATIONS WITH HISPANIC AMERICA

21. *Commercial treaties*. Most-favored nation treatment in customs matters, provisional commercial agreement between United States and Ecuador, effected by exchange of notes; signed June 12, 1936, effective June 12, 1936. 1936. [2]+3 p. (Executive agreement series 93; [Publication 900]). [Note from Secretary of State (Hull) to Ecuadoran Minister (Alfaro) is in English and note from Ecuadoran Minister (Alfaro) to Secretary of State (Hull) is in Spanish.] Paper, 5c. L. C. card 36-26624 S 9.8: 93
22. *Reciprocal trade*. Reciprocal trade, agreement between United States and Guatemala; signed Guatemala, Apr. 24, 1936, effective June 15, 1936. 1936. [2]+25 p. (Executive agreement series 92; [Publication 892].) [English and Spanish.] Paper, 5c. L. C. card 36-26581 S 9.8: 92

MISCELLANEOUS

23. *Bulletin (English edition)*. Bulletin of Pan American Union, July 1936; [v. 70, no. 7]. [1936.] iv+529-604 p. il. [Monthly.] L. C. card 8-30967 PA 1.6: e 70/7
24. ——— (*Portuguese edition*). Boletim da União Panamericana, julho 1936; [v. 38, no. 7]. [1936.] iv+437-496 p. il. [Monthly.] L. C. card 11-27014 PA 1.6: p 38/7